



Empty Compromises on Federal Spending Cuts

By RALPH de TOLEDANO



House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills (left) and House Appropriations Chairman George Mahon have talked a good game of fiscal sanity—but when the chips are down, the ante always seems to get raised.

Congressional economizers, having labored mightily, have brought forth a mouth—if that much. For months Chairman Wilbur Mills of the House Ways and Means Committee has talked valiantly of reducing federal expenditures by \$5 billion—in itself, a figure that is only a fraction of the \$30 billion that the General Accounting Office has said is the Treasury's annual bill for waste. There have been grandiose proposals from Mr. Mills for "tax reform" as well, but it has all come to nought.

Mr. Mills, Chairman George Mahon of the House Appropriations Committee, Republican House leader Gerald Ford, and the White House have "compromised" their differences—and everyone can be happy except the taxpayer. Their formula may deceive those who do not know the workings of Congress, but it will do nothing at all to alleviate the anguish of those who are contemplating enlistment in the tax rebellion—a movement far more prevalent than the daily prints would indicate.

Congressional leaders make it sound as if their announced "ceiling" on spending by the federal government is a quid pro quo for extending the 10 per cent surtax until Jan. 1, 1970. They tout this "ceiling" as a way of controlling expenditures. But, of course, it is nothing of the sort. For all these great economizers have said is that the federal government will be able to spend no more than the \$192.9 billion that the Nixon Administration is asking for. That is, of course, unless the Administration asks for the usual "supplemental appropriations" that are quietly sneaked through near the end of each fiscal year—and Congress grants them.

In other words, the "compromise" on federal expenditures adds up to this: Congress is saying that the Treasury will

not be allowed to spend any more than Congress gives it—which is what has happened since the First Congress, back in George Washington's day. That's all the razzle-dazzle means. Every time Congress appropriates money, it is setting a "spending limit" beyond which the bureaucrats may not go—until Congress raises the ante.

So Mr. Mills, the taxpayer's friend,

is going easier on the Nixon Administration than he did on the Johnson Administration—though he is a Democrat. It was Mr. Mills who lopped off \$6 billion from the last Johnson appropriation as his price for the original enactment of the 10 per cent surtax. (That surtax was supposed to run for one year, but it looks as if it will be with us as long as the "temporary" wartime excise

taxes.) Mr. Johnson got back a substantial hunk of that \$6 billion, simply by spending at the usual rate and then telling Congress that the Treasury needed more.

Well, Mr. Mills and his buddies need not worry too much. They have voted themselves a nice raise, so the inflation caused by out-of-hand federal spending won't hurt them where it counts.

But those who are on fixed salaries—or pensions, or other income—will have to tighten their belts and reduce their standard of living. If they have memories that extend beyond a fly's attention span, those who are being penalized by Congress' "compromises" will retire some of the gentlemen who vote to sustain our current inflationary practices. But the chances are that all will be forgotten by the time the next congressional election rolls around.

The Messrs. Mills, Mahon and company are aware of this. They can announce "compromises" which compromise nothing and maintain a status quo of waste and high taxes secure in the knowledge that, in the long run, no one will do anything about it—or really care. But they may be wrong this time. Look behind you. That choking sound you hear may be coming from another tax rebel.

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Capital Briefs

● Sen. George McGovern (D.-S.D.) is reported to still have high hopes that he, rather than **Teddy Kennedy**, will win the Democratic presidential nomination in 1972. The reason: a growing band of Kennedyites, including Frank Mankiewicz, Adam Yarmolinsky and Peter Edleman, are said to be increasingly concerned that Teddy does not have the necessary brain power to be the nation's top executive. Teddy's good public performances, it is claimed, are a result of astute behind-the-scenes coaching, but as more publicity is focused on the Massachusetts senator there is the fear that he will expose himself as ill-equipped for the White House. Thus if Kennedy flops—as many now believe will happen—the Kennedy forces, as in 1968, are expected to push for McGovern.

● **Allan Brownfeld**, editor of the Young Americans for Freedom publication, the "New Guard," received quite a jolt last week after having given excellent testimony on student unrest before Rep. Edith Green's (D.-Ore.) education subcommittee. During his testimony, Brownfeld traced part of the campus revolt to the way the Democratic Administration waged the war in Viet Nam: by compelling draftees to lay down their lives there while simultaneously expanding trade with the Communist enemy and refusing to stop supplies from steaming into Haiphong. Brownfeld, who also criticized other aspects of Democratic policies, was amazed later when he found that most of his sharp comments directed against the Democrats had been curiously eliminated from the printed transcript of his testimony.

● Capitol Hill observers note that the Kennedy forces in Washington were not at all unhappy with the demise of **Abe Fortas**. One of the first to call for Fortas to step down from the High Court was Sen. Joseph Tydings (D.-Md.), a long-time Kennedy buff who had actually championed Fortas for chief justice last year. Teddy himself, it is observed, immediately jumped on Fortas and, in contrast to many Democrats, even went out of his way to defend Atty. Gen. John Mitchell's role in the Fortas affair. Because of Fortas' close ties to LBJ, say insiders, the Kennedyites were eager to discredit him.

● White House insiders are saying that Vice President Spiro T. Agnew and Atty. Gen. John Mitchell have been having serious behind-the-scenes arguments with HEW Secretary **Robert Finch** on how to handle student disorders. They are reported to be burning at Finch's inexplicable desire to coddle student trouble-makers, even those belonging to the militant Students for a Democratic Society.

● The Democratic party continues to be the party of left-wing extremism. The Hon. **Coleman Young**, Michigan's Democratic National Committeeman, turns out to be sympathetic toward the revolutionary and pro-Peking Republic of New Africa. In the 1950s he refused to respond to lawmakers who asked him about his proved Communist affiliations. Last week the Rev. **Channing Phillips**, Democratic National Committeeman for the District of Columbia, blasted the "capitalist" system before the World Council of Churches meeting in London, then went on to say that the Christian church ought to aid and abet the only power available to oppressed blacks: the power of violence.

● **Hubert Humphrey**, who wants desperately to visit Moscow this summer, is getting the cold shoulder from Russian bigwigs. Humphrey wants a guarantee that either Kosygin or Brezhnev will talk with him, but the Soviet embassy has told him, in effect, that he's no different these days from any other tourist.

● The **taxpayer revolt** continues. In Philadelphia last week, voters by 3 to 2 turned down a multi-million-dollar school bond issue. And in wealthy New York suburbs of Long Island and Westchester, 29 school budgets were rejected as excessive in recent balloting.

● Former Supreme Court Justice **Arthur Goldberg** recently agreed to deliver 13 lectures at Columbia University for \$5,000. But Goldberg called off the lectures when Columbia officials refused to pay for a chauffeur-driven limousine that would take him from his downtown law firm to the campus. The university offered to pay for taxi fares, but Goldberg, the former union lawyer, thought cabs were beneath his dignity.

● California Gov. Ronald Reagan won another vote of confidence last week when the GOP captured a special Assembly election and broke a Republican-Democratic tie for control of California's lower house. Victor in the Modesto district that is heavily Democratic in registration: **Clare L. Berryhill**, a staunch conservative and all-out Reagan booster.

● Pollster **Lou Harris**, who gave such gushing testimony recently on the merits of the Job Corps, was hardly an unbiased witness. Figures compiled by Sen. Peter Dominick (R.-Colo.) disclose that the Job Corps has paid Harris a whopping \$808,650 during the past two and a half years for "surveys" of various kinds.

● **Bobby Kennedy's** campaign organization was sued last week for \$85,071 in unpaid hotel bills. The Ambassador Hotel in downtown Los Angeles filed suit after "repeated efforts" to get the Kennedy organization to settle its account proved fruitless. Defendants in the California action are the national Kennedy for President committee, the Kennedy national headquarters, the Kennedy campaign committee, and the latter's trustees.

● **Timothy Leary**, the high priest of illicit drugs, was so ecstatic last week when the Supreme Court reversed his conviction on a federal marijuana charge that he announced his candidacy for governor of California in 1970. Leary was freed in an 8-to-0 ruling that struck down a major section of the federal anti-drug statutes.

● The Communist government of Poland was embarrassed recently when its posh luxury liner, "Batory," returned home with 10 per cent fewer passengers than departed. During the "Batory's" short cruise of Scandinavian ports, 49 passengers jumped ship and requested political asylum. "Poland is like a prison cell," said one woman who escaped with only the clothes on her back.

HUMAN EVENTS

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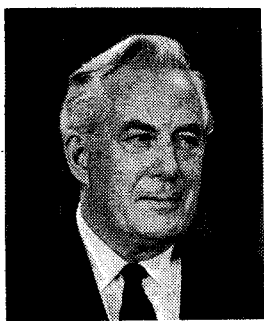
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Burger Appointment Hailed...

In naming Warren Earl Burger as the 15th chief justice of the United States, President Nixon has stirred a fresh fervor for his Administration among his more conservative supporters across the nation. Hard-core conservative judges, lawyers and businessmen contacted by *Human Events* were virtually unanimous in their verdict that Burger was a superb choice to redirect the thrust of the Earl Warren Court. A federal judge in Washington, a conservative who has known Burger for years, proclaimed the selection was "not good—but perfect."



BURGER

Reaction by rightward-leaning senators and House lawmakers was equally as enthusiastic.

Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio), chairman of the prestigious American Conservative Union which has been sharply critical of the President, voiced his enthusiasm for the eminent jurist. Ashbrook related that he had closely followed the decisions of Burger in his present position as judge on the United States Court of Appeals in Washington. The Ohioan, himself a former practicing attorney, stressed that he was thoroughly impressed with Burger's opinions—often in the minority, since the appeals court is packed with Democratic-appointed liberals such as Chief Judge David Bazelon and J. Skelly Wright.

Sen. Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.), a highly respected constitutional lawyer who will pass on Burger's nomination as a member of the Judiciary Committee, stated: "I've read many opinions he has written and they give me the strong hope that the Constitution will be the supreme law of the land instead of the personal notions of the court."

The ranking Republican on the Judiciary Committee, Sen. Everett M. Dirksen, said of the Burger nomination: "No. 1, he looks like a chief justice. No. 2, he acts like a chief justice. No. 3, he talks like a chief justice."

"His judicial record is superb, and his administrative record is excellent. I believe his nomination will give real comfort to people who believe in law enforcement and constitutional government."

Sen. John McClellan (D.-Ark.), second-ranking Democrat on the committee, said he was "highly gratified" by the appointment. "The nominee," said McClellan, "has distinguished himself as a jurist . . ."

Sen. Robert Byrd (D.-W.Va.), also a member of the Judiciary, declared that Burger's "judicial philosophy as manifested by his record . . . did not associate him with the activists on the court. I know him as a law and order man who, based on my observations, believes that a system of justice which does not protect the law-abiding has failed in the basic reason for being, and we are very close to failing."

Sens. Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.), John Williams (R.-Del.), John Tower (R.-Tex.), and Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.) are among a host of other solons who have been singing Burger's praises.

Burger has also been warmly endorsed because of his rock-like integrity—a quality noted by the President—his competence and experience.

Born in St. Paul, Minn., in 1907 of Swiss-German stock, Judge Burger spent his early years on a farm outside the city. He worked his way through the University of Minnesota and the St. Paul College of Law (now Mitchell College of Law), attending school at night and working days in the office of the Mutual Life Insurance Co. of New York. Despite his workload, he was graduated magna cum laude from St. Paul in 1931. During his 22 years in private practice his range of cases ran the gamut of civil and criminal law. He argued close to a score before the U.S. Supreme Court and dozens more before state supreme courts and U.S. appellate courts.

In 1953 Burger was named assistant attorney general in charge of the Civil Division of the Department

of Justice. (Some say this was for his role in shifting the Minnesota delegation from Stassen to Ike in 1952, though few would deny he was also well qualified for the post.)

Three years later Ike named him to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit, where he has been battling to restrain the court's more activist members. Judge Burger also currently leads a project that has been described as the largest undertaking in the history of the American Bar Association—its voluminous study of the Minimum Standards of Criminal Justice. It is, however, largely his "strict constructionist" philosophy and a "common sense"



attitude toward the law that has primarily endeared him to conservatives.

While the right wing of the Republican party has revealed a marked enthusiasm for the Burger appointment, the current cheers would be quickly stilled if the President tries to "balance" the Burger selection with a liberal activist.

Rep. John Ashbrook says his confidence has increased that the President will name a "like-minded conservative to the remaining Supreme Court vacancy." But he has warned that to do otherwise "would make the President look inconsistent." Even with Burger replacing Warren, it is noted, the "strict constructionist" philosophers on the High Court will still be greatly outnumbered. Hence, if the President still wants to enjoy the confidence of his conservative supporters—and, by the way, live up to his campaign promises—he will have to fill the Fortas vacancy with another "Burger."

...And Viewed With Alarm

While liberal judges have been restrained in their public remarks about Judge Burger, behind his back they are known to be sharply critical. Articulating this liberal sentiment in Washington last week was Attorney Phillip Hirschkop of the American Civil Liberties Union. Asked to comment on the initial reports that Burger had been nominated, Hirschkop blurted out to a newsmen: "Where could you possibly have gotten such bad news? This is a setback for civil liberties and the progress of criminal law. He is probably one of the most conservative judges in the country on criminal law. It certainly is a climax to the Warren Era."

Previous Burger Opinions

While it is always difficult to tell just how a Supreme Court justice will rule on certain cases, Chief Justice-Designate Warren Burger has suggested the manner in which he will approach a decision through his court dissents and public writings during his 13 years on the U.S. Court of Appeals. Listed below are excerpts of his views:

• A dissent to reversal of a housebreaking conviction in 1967: "I suggest that the kind of nit-

picking appellate review exhibited by reversal of this conviction may help explain why the public is losing confidence in the administration of justice."

"I suggest also that if we continue on this course we may well come to be known as a society incapable of defending itself—the impotent society."

Another 1967 dissent to reversal of a grand larceny conviction: "I regret this court's repeated actions which plainly tell prisoners, 'jail-house lawyers' and the bar generally that if they can find a way to continue the warfare with society long enough they may finally reap the natural rewards of lost evidence and fading memories."

• In 1957 the Supreme Court issued its *Mallory* ruling. This held that an accused's confession—even if voluntary—could not be used if police delay taking the suspect before a magistrate. "Under the guise of protecting legitimate individual rights," Burger said of the *Mallory* rule's application in one case, "the majority abandons the balance we are charged with maintaining between individuals' rights and protection of the public."

• In 1954 with Washington lawyer Abe Fortas arguing in support, the U.S. Appeals Court in Washington handed down the famous "Durham rule." It was an attempt to modernize the idea that mentally defective persons cannot be convicted of a crime. Previously the "insanity defense" could be used only if the accused did not know right from wrong at the time of the crime or acted under "an irresistible impulse." The Appeals Court elaborated on this by ruling that a person is not criminally responsible if his crime was the "product of a mental disease or defect." While not on the court at the time, Burger became one of the chief challengers of the Durham rule. He dismissed it by claiming, "It tends to treat unsupported and dubious psychiatric theory as scientific knowledge."

• In Washington, police had a tip that a known prostitute had illegal dope. They went to her rooming house, knocked, then started to find her room. At that moment she dashed past them and dropped a small package into a garbage can under the front porch. The officers looked in the garbage can and found a package of narcotics. Yet the judge dismissed the evidence on the grounds that this was an "unreasonable" search and seizure.

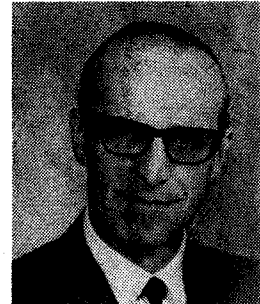
Judge Burger acidly dissented in the garbage can case, declaring that he just could not "find a constitutional right to privacy in the garbage pail of a rooming house." He roundly denounced the "unfortunate trend of judicial decisions which stretch and strain to give the guilty not the same but vastly more protection than the law-abiding citizen."

• A 1969 dissent to voiding of a conviction based on a confession. "The seeming anxiety of judges to protect every accused person from every consequence of his voluntary utterances is giving rise to myriad rules, sub-rules, variations and exceptions which even the most alert and sophisticated lawyers and judges are taxed to follow. Each time judges add nuances to these 'rules' we make it less likely that any police officer will be able to follow the guidelines we lay down."

Montana's ABM 'Referendum'

Republican leaders in the Nation's Capital are increasingly concerned by campaign reports from Montana's 2nd Congressional District, where a special House election is scheduled June 24.

GOP Congressman Jim Battin, who won by more than 2 to 1 last fall, has resigned the seat to accept a federal judgeship and early polls indicate that Republican William Mather is trailing his Democratic opponent, John Melcher.



MATHER

A Democratic victory would be heralded from coast to coast as a "repudiation" of the Nixon Administration, particularly on the question of the ABM.

The election has already been described in wire service reports as a crucial "referendum" on the anti-missile system, inasmuch as Malmstrom AFB in

Conservationists and those fearing unwarranted federal encroachment have won the Battle for Round Valley (see *Human Events*, May 3, 1969, page 12). California Gov. Ronald Reagan has vetoed the plans of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to flood major sections of the valley fed by the Eel River to provide water for Southern California. The planned \$400-million project required the approval of the governor, who has directed his state engineers to find other sources of water for Southern California. Had the project been approved, a 750-foot high dam would have flooded some 20,000 acres of rich farmland.

Great Falls has been selected as one of the country's two ABM sites. Democrat Melcher is opposing deployment of the ABM, as is the state's Democratic governor, Forrest Anderson.

Anderson, who carried the Second District by 34,000 votes last fall, has denounced the ABM in strident terms. "I do not wish to see Montana become the nuclear ammunition dump—and later junkyard—of the U.S.," he says.

Since Mather supports the anti-missile program his defeat next month would be viewed as a defeat for the ABM system. It could have considerable political impact in the Senate, where ABM supporters and opponents are closely divided.

National Democratic leaders, who gained considerable mileage when Rep. David Obey scored an upset victory in a special House election earlier this year, are expected to provide Melcher ample financing for his bid. Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, who has run very strongly in the Second District, is expected to campaign for Melcher and Ted Kennedy may put in an 11th-hour appearance.

Mather, GOP leader in the state House, figures to be hurt by the presence in the race of political novice Derby Whitmer, candidate of George Wallace's American Independent party. Wallace racked up more than 20,000 votes in the state last year and should Whitmer corral a substantial portion of these he could just about guarantee Mather's defeat.

Republican strategists point out that the Second District is by no means as Republican as Battin's landslide victory last fall would indicate. That was considered a "personal" victory for the GOP congressman, whose Democratic opponent waged a woefully ineffective campaign.

The district has given wide margins to Democratic candidates for governor and senator and in 1964 went for Lyndon Johnson by 3 to 2. Republicans note that Richard Nixon carried the district with only 51.1 per cent last year and warn that it could go Democratic very easily next month.

Finch to Back Welfare Militants?

Though only a few months in office, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Robert Finch is openly torpedoing President Nixon's solemn promise to bring law and order to the United States—a pledge that was partially fulfilled last week with the selection of a new chief justice. Aside from stacking the HEW bailiwick with such civil disobedience advocates as James Farmer, both Finch and his hand-picked U.S. commissioner of education, James Allen, are energetically campaigning to prevent the Congress from passing new legislation to deal with student militants and the subversive-oriented Students for a Democratic Society.

Echoing Finch's recent testimony before a House Education subcommittee, Allen publicly proclaimed in an interview last week that if Congress passed "punitive measures" against students, this would only worsen the campus situation.

"I do not believe," said Allen, in the tradition of Ramsey Clark and the Johnson Administration, "that you solve problems in this field or any other

field solely by passing punitive or negative legislation." The new U.S. education commissioner then piously tut-tutted Atty. Gen. John Mitchell's description of students who seize buildings, pummel professors and



FARMER



ALLEN

plant dynamite as "tyrants" and "criminals." Such characterizations, said Allen, "are not helpful at all."

Not only has HEW become the chief apologist for rioters, but Secretary Finch is now sympathetically contemplating a plan to use the extremist National Welfare Rights Organization, a group that has caused civil turmoil in major U.S. cities around the country.

Under this proposal—quickly cleared by lower-level HEW officials and now on Finch's desk—the NWRO would receive \$300,000 over a three-year period for the ostensible purpose of rehabilitating individuals with "physical and emotional" disabilities. While the project has not yet been approved, HEW Under Secretary John Veneman's office confirmed last week that it was under serious consideration. A NWRO official, moreover, has indicated that approval is just "a matter of time."

A HEW grant to the NWRO would fit perfectly into Finch's plans to baby the militants. Claiming 30,000 members in 100 cities, the NWRO has engaged in a wide variety of activities, ranging from the vicious to the comic. Fundamentally, it has been trying to raise the income of welfare recipients to a luxury level.

In a recent list of "goals," the NWRO demanded that those on welfare should get life insurance, clothing, "household furnishings," 24-hour emergency public assistance, special "home relief" programs, "grants based on current cost-of-living . . . increases" and "monthly welfare grants . . . for recreation."

In March the organization waged a zany nationwide campaign to compel Sears department stores to "assure each NWRO family of at least \$150 worth of revolving credits," to make such an agreement "binding on all Sears stores" and to institute a provision "that \$8 per month be the maximum repayment schedule expected of welfare recipients."

While such outrageous proposals have their humorous aspects, the NWRO goes about its job of demanding union-scale welfare payments in an ugly fashion.

Last fall, for instance, NWRO leaders picketed the Washington apartment home of House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills because Mills had put a lid on welfare spending. Aside from hurling epithets at the chairman, NWRO officials distributed a "Now Wanted Poster" of Mills that stated in blunt, black letters that he was part of a "conspiracy to starve children, destroy families, force women into slavery and exploit poor people." "The handout shrilly added that Mills "has relentlessly fought against government programs for the poor and the rights of Negroes and other minorities, and for the interests of the rich, conservative and racist powers in America . . ."

The poster told much more about the NWRO than about Mills, who, in point of fact, has established a fairly liberal voting record on "anti-poverty" measures. (Mills' over-all voting record, for instance, is only 37 per cent conservative, according to the Americans for Constitutional Action.)

More indicative of the organization, however, is the action taken by NWRO leaders in April of this year. After helping to stage a massive welfare rally in Central Park addressed by a Black Panther and other radicals, NWRO's national director, George Wiley, led an unscheduled march into downtown New York that eventually flared into violence. Fifteen persons were arrested, including Hulbert James, field director for the NWRO, while foot patrolmen felt compelled to wrestle demonstrators to the ground.

Some marchers attempted a brief sitdown in the middle of the street as police chased taunters and

hauled them into custody, one of them in a tight arm-lock.

Traffic was disrupted for 10-block stretches as the wave of marchers implored observers to join the protest against the recent welfare cutbacks approved by the state legislature. As the march stalled and its leaders conferred, some of the young radicals openly baited the police with angry cries of "Pig, pig, pig!" One youth was arrested after he jarred papers loose from a patrolman's grasp and ran. "This is our town today," declared Wiley. As his marchers pounded on cars outside Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's residence, Wiley added: "When the poor people want money they are going to get it by people power, or there's going to be hell to pay in New York City." Nevertheless, the HEW is seriously thinking of bestowing a grant on Wiley's NWRO.

• Note: *Human Events* sent a reporter to the NWRO's nationally based headquarters in downtown Washington. After setting up an interview, the reporter was ushered into the office of the NWRO's No. 2 man, Tim Sampson, a hefty 200-pounder dressed in fatigue trousers and a T-shirt that didn't quite fit his protruding stomach.

As the reporter entered the room, the garrulous Sampson was bellowing over the telephone and appeared to be lowering the boom on a field representative in Virginia. After finishing his phone call, Sampson swung around to face the reporter and snapped, "The interview doesn't start until I see a copy of *Human Events*; I think I am familiar with your paper." Furnished a copy, the pudgy Sampson carefully scrutinized it for a long two minutes, then rose half-way out of his seat when he stumbled onto the story criticizing Los Angeles mayoralty candidate Tom Bradley for surrounding himself with radicals. Standing and waving the copy of *Human Events* over his head, the chunky Sampson angrily cursed: "You tell those [obscenity] editors that they shouldn't have said those things about Bradley." Still infuriated, Sampson tossed some literature at the reporter and shouted: "Go ahead and write your damn story. . . . I don't care what you say about us. . . ." He then lumbered awkwardly toward the reporter. Noting that a sign in Sampson's office said, "Trespassers May Be Shot," the reporter hurriedly scampered out the door.

Dirksen Fights Red Trade

Senate Minority Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen has called upon the Nixon Administration to adopt a hard-line policy on East-West trade that would deny the Soviets any assistance at all until they make major Cold War concessions.



DIRKSEN

Dirksen's hard-hitting critique of East-West trade puts him at short odds with Administration officials who favor no-strings commerce as a means of reducing tensions. Writing in the June issue of the *Reader's Digest*, Dirksen says:

"It is time for the United States to tie its trade to global politics, to insist on getting from the Communists something in return—a quid pro quo—for the scientific and technological genius they so desperately need from us."

Dirksen says that the concessions might include the payment of long-standing Lend Lease debts, guaranteed access to Berlin, a hands-off attitude by the Soviets towards Latin America and the Middle East.

Dirksen notes that trade is a major weapon in the Communists' Cold War arsenal, quoting a top Kremlin expert as saying, "trade policy is a crucial part of our foreign policy."

"Economic blackmail and political retaliation are practiced shamelessly [by the Russians]," Dirksen noted. "Prices are rigged, goods are dumped—all as part of the strategy to disrupt Western economies, to ensnare emerging nations and promote friction within the non-Communist world."

Arguing that the Soviet economy is in dire straits and that the solution to their crisis lies with the West, Dirksen declares: "Clearly, this dependency on Western technology represents a vulnerability that should be capitalized upon."

The GOP leader ridicules the idea that the "non-strategic" trade pushed by the State Department constitutes no danger to the U.S. "Western goods of any kind relieve production bottlenecks and enable Soviet planners to shift from domestic to military production patterns," he says.

The Dirksen article is considered extremely timely by hard-line anti-Communists on the Hill because it comes at the exact moment that the Nixon Administration has curiously filled the State Department and the White House with key officials who are on record as wanting vast expansion of trade with the Soviets without desiring any concessions in return. The article may not only have an influence on the White House, but could have an impact on Senate hearings designed to open the trade floodgates with Communist countries.

Dirksen himself notes that the President has in past years urged a tough policy on East-West trade. He quotes the chief executive from a detailed report to the people made in 1962.

"The Berlin Wall might have crumbled in a week if we had threatened a complete embargo on East Germany. The Soviet Union's support of guerrillas in South America might well have been traded for the right to buy Western goods. Western productivity, technical know-how and trade add up to one of our best weapons. We must use it in the Cold War." Cold Warriors on the Hill are hoping that the Nixon of 1969 will heed the Nixon of 1962.

Lindsay vs. Marchi

State Sen. John Marchi is reported to have an excellent chance of defeating New York City's incumbent Mayor John Lindsay in the Republican mayoralty primary on June 17, but political insiders insist that Lindsay might sink the Marchi candidacy with a last-minute TV and radio blitz. By tapping fat cat liberal Republicans and contractors doing business with the city, Lindsay has been able to run a well-financed campaign. Marchi, on the other hand, does not yet have the money to offset Lindsay's lavish spending habits. (The Marchi for Mayor headquarters, for those who have expressed an interest in his campaign, is located at 22 East 38th St., New York, N. Y. 10016)



The Marchi slate, from left to right: Robert Kelly for City Council President, Vito Battista for Comptroller and John Marchi for Mayor.

• Marchi received another boost last week when Gov. Nelson Rockefeller rebuffed Lindsay's almost plaintive request that Rockefeller campaign for the mayor during the remaining days left before the primary. While the governor said he "personally" favored Lindsay, he said he did not think it was proper for him to enter the contest. Furthermore, Rocky, in contrast to New York's Republican senators, Charles Goodell and Jacob Javits, stressed he would support Marchi if he bested Lindsay. (Goodell says he'll back Lindsay even if he loses, while Javits says he'll wait to see what happens.) Despite the Rockefeller rebuff, however, Lindsay is repeatedly pleading with him to reconsider his "hands-off" attitude.

• Another factor going for Marchi was reported

by the *Wall Street Journal*. "In the four boroughs outside of Manhattan," noted the *Journal*, "elected Republican officials have lined up almost to a man against the mayor and behind Sen. Marchi. In part, they are responding to the senator's complaining about the mayor's patronage habits: From his appointments, it would seem that almost anyone was *persona grata* except Republicans and Conservatives."

Douglas Resigns From Parvin

Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas has resigned a \$12,000 post with a West Coast foundation which brought him under fire, it was announced last week.

The action, however, did not diminish congressional demands as the result of the Abe Fortas resignation from the court that tax-exempt foundations be barred from paying judges or other public officials for any services.

Sen. John J. Williams (R.-Del.) said he would initiate action this week on his proposal that would end the tax-exempt status of foundations if they made such payments. Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) said of Douglas' action: "His resignation from the court forthwith is the announcement he should have made."

"The fact that it took so much time and energy by some members of Congress and news media to convince Douglas that he ought to sever his connections with a foundation endowed by gambling casino money simply proves he is not competent to serve on the Supreme Court bench," Gross said.

Asked what he would do now, Gross said, "I don't think anybody who is interested in this is going to let it drop."

Goodell's Leftward Leap

With a fascination bordering on morbid curiosity, political observers are watching the energetic way in which Sen. Charles Goodell is rapidly working himself out of favor with the Republican party.

A regular Republican for nine years in the House, the ultra-political freshman lawmaker has rapidly metamorphosed into a sort of Hubert Humphrey of the GOP. Like the ex-Veeep, he talks incessantly now and is often caught playing the blundering buffoon to acquire a few votes. Just recently, in fact, Goodell, in a blatant appeal to the black vote, suggested he might adopt a Biafran child.

The change of life for Goodell, say critics, began when Gov. Nelson Rockefeller plucked him from the House and put him in the Senate seat held by the late Robert Kennedy. The Kennedy seat apparently had a profound effect, with Goodell suddenly striving to attain the same liberal image. His leftward philosophical shift has also been influenced by his belief that he must win over the "liberals" in New York City to beat Arthur Goldberg or some other possible opponent in 1970.

Goodell's liberal leaps have been enormous. Whereas in the House he was identified with resistance to Democratic programs, now he's identified with resistance to Republican programs. The new Goodell, it is pointed out, is vigorously opposed to Nixon's ABM program—even though the President desperately needs to have it pass in order to deal with the Soviets. He has called for the resignations of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and Selective Service Director Lewis B. Hershey. Furthermore, he has gone so far as to endorse the New Left's Los Angeles mayoralty candidate, Tom Bradley, even though a Bradley victory would establish a left-wing Democratic base in Republican California.

So anti-Republican has Goodell become, in fact, that recently he sallied forth to the privileged sanctuary of Canada—also a haven for U.S. draft dodgers who have apparently earned Goodell's sympathy—to

label Senate GOP leader Everett Dirksen "an obstructionist" for doing such things as defending Otto Otepka. Though Dirksen lashed back at Goodell, the *New Yorker* says he "very definitely" stands by his Toronto statement.

Goodell's latest anti-GOP ploy is his blatant interference in the Republican primary for mayor of New York. Though he is not a resident of the city, he has not only rounded up support for Mayor Lindsay, but has gone even further than Sen. Jacob Javits and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller by stressing that even if Lindsay loses the GOP primary to the eminently qualified John Marchi, he will still support Lindsay.

Marchi has retorted that he would hope "Senator Goodell will reconsider his decision to ignore the wishes of the GOP electorate. He would be reading himself out of the party by failure to do so." Many other observers, however, believe that Goodell, in his zeal to prove that he is at least as liberal as Bobby Kennedy, has already burned his bridges with the regular Republican party. Indeed, party regulars in New York are beginning to say that if Goodell is defeated in 1970 it would be a fate he richly deserves.

IRS Cracks Down on NEA

The Internal Revenue Service, under the guidance of its new Nixon-appointed commissioner, Randolph Thrower, is preparing to crack down on tax-exempt "religious and education" groups which have for years been actively lobbying for partisan liberal legislation and programs. One of the first victims of this IRS enforcement is the National Education Association.

The NEA, which claims in the neighborhood of one million members, has become increasingly militant in recent years as it has been challenged for teachers' allegiance by the more political (and also tax-exempt) American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO. The NEA has lobbied Congress for increased federal education aid, had "its people" in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare support outlandish school desegregation and busing schemes, and two years ago the NEA sponsored an abortive statewide teachers strike in Florida.

All this time the NEA was enjoying tax-exempt status, supposedly because it was "exclusively" an educational organization. This position permits NEA not to pay taxes on contributions it receives or money it earns from its activities, allows contributors to deduct donations to NEA from their individual tax returns, and grants NEA a low-cost preferential postage rate.

A short time ago, however, new IRS Commissioner Thrower told an interviewer he was concerned about the tax-exempt status of "the ideological organizations that are far from the traditional patterns of religion or education." He then ordered the IRS staff, which watchdogs the tax-exempt organizations, to place a "strict construction" on the exemption regulations; also, Thrower says he is doubling the investigative and auditing personnel who work in this field.

The NEA has not yet been officially notified that its tax-exempt status has been revoked, but association officials, citing recent conversations with IRS agents, expect it to come any moment. As a non-profit organization the NEA will still pay no income taxes, but Deputy Executive Secretary Lyle Ashby admitted last week that the revocation will sorely hurt the NEA in getting funds from foundations which normally contribute only to exempt groups, and in having to pay higher postage rates.

REPRINTS AVAILABLE

Reprints are now available of "Are Soviets Planning Nuclear First Strike?", the four-page article by Phyllis Schlafly and Adm. Chester Ward which appeared in the May 24, 1969, issue of *Human Events*. Single copies 35¢; 10 for \$3; 50 for \$12.50; 100 for \$25.

Computerized Questionnaires: Government's Newest Weapons

In this season of revolution the inspiration to rebel has spread far beyond the confines of the college campus and the black community. In recent days it has surfaced in no less an auspicious surrounding than the hearing room of the Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee.

There, before a sympathetic Sen. Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.), a stream of witness-revolutionaries has been pouring out Kafkaesque tales of oppression. The oppressors here, however, are not police or storm trooper students, but mild-appearing government bureaucrats whose most vicious weapon of oppression is the questionnaire.

The Age of Technology, says Sen. Ervin, has brought with it "a society whose civil servants have become captives of the computer."

The operating principle of this coterie of computerized commissars is: When in doubt, ask questions. And, as certainty is the most deadly foe of any and all bureaucrats, they ask, ask, ask, and if you do not answer, slam!, into the clink with you.

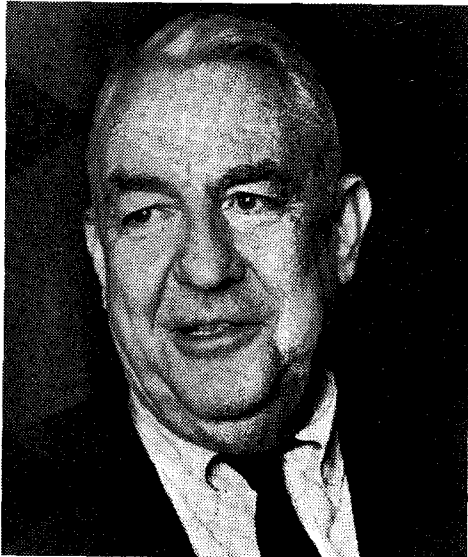
For an example, consider the nightmare of W.W. Schilestett, a plumbing and heating contractor from Charlotte, N.C. Last year, Schilestett told the Ervin subcommittee, his small business expended \$28,000 to gather information demanded by the federal government. One business census form required 135 man hours of employe time to complete.

And if Mr. Schilestett had refused to comply with the government's burdensome request he would have been

liable for a \$500 fine and 60 days in jail.

Another case involved a disabled veteran who received a 25-item, multiple-choice questionnaire from the Census Bureau, which was conducting the survey for the Veterans Administration. One of the questions asked whether the vet was right- or left-handed.

When this victim of the bureaucrats' relentless quest for trivia stowed his questionnaire in the nearest wastebasket, he received three follow-up letters demanding a response. When these letters also went unanswered, a Census Bureau agent showed up on his door-



Sen. Ervin says many of the government's questions have little to do with needed information.

step to personally ask the beleaguered vet for a reply to the questionnaire.

Several witnesses who appeared before Sen. Ervin complained that, while many government questionnaires—like the one sent the veteran—were ostensibly voluntary, the actions by the government in demanding replies were not in the spirit of voluntariness. One Washington doctor, asked in a "voluntary" survey how much his new home cost and how he expected to pay for it, failed to send the form in and said that the Census Bureau then began acting "like a collection agency."

U.S. citizens, said Ervin in summarizing the testimony he heard, are being made to perform the function of guinea pigs for capricious computer-minded bureaucrats. What's more, charged the Southern solon, the surveys and the questions often have nothing to do with the proper business of government.

"Somewhere," he concluded, "a balance must be struck between the individual's desire to keep silent and the government's need for information."



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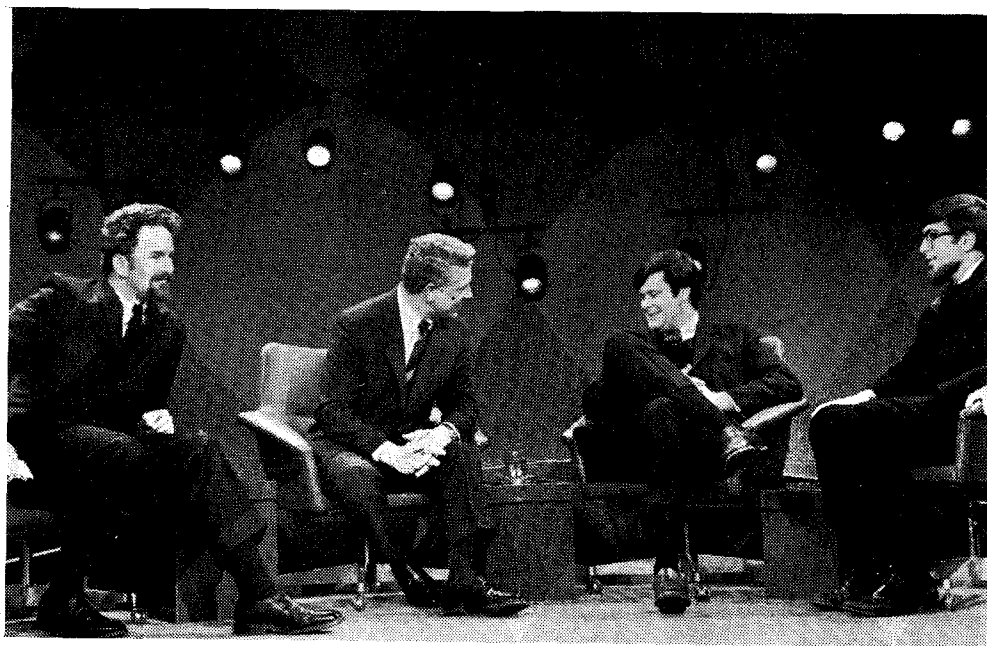
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In happier days for Ramparts, TV producer David Susskind interviewed some of the magazine's staffers. From left: Michael Wood, who broke the original CIA-NSA story; Susskind; Editor Warren Hinckle and Managing Editor Robert Scheer.

Behind 'Ramparts' Bankruptcy

Ramparts magazine has led a brief, eventful and controversial life as a self-avowed muckraking publication delineating an ideological line fluctuating wildly between the far left and more traditional liberalism. And now it is officially bankrupt.

In an expose article that would have been worthy of Ramparts at its peak, James Ridgeway in the New York Times Sunday Magazine has revealed some of the reasons behind Ramparts' demise.

Ridgeway hints that Ramparts' youthful executive editor, Warren Hinckle, may have been one reason for the magazine's perilous financial condition at its end.

"The millionaires who bankrolled Ramparts," Ridgeway wrote, "were always impressed by the way he spent money, taking them to lavish lunches and entertainments and paying for the whole with their own money. Hinckle always flew first class on planes. In New York when he could not get a taxi, he hired a private car to make a short trip in the city. Once he was stranded in Chicago during a domestic air strike, and refusing to take a train or bus to New York, instead flew to London, and from there to New York."

Whoever was at fault, when Ramparts filed a bankruptcy petition it listed some \$2 million in outstanding debts, including \$50,000 to unpaid writers (among them Eldridge Cleaver, who is owed \$805), over \$40,000 due the Internal Revenue Service and a telephone bill totalling \$19,000.

Equally as interesting as the way the leftish editors ran through the money of rich but liberal capitalists was the way they pulled off publicity for many of their sensational stories.

Ridgeway's most fascinating case concerns an article which was scheduled to appear in Ramparts during the summer of 1964 and which reportedly was to reveal the names of the murderers of three civil rights workers in Mississippi. Ramparts' editors contacted their New York City public relations man, Marc Stone, to have him set up a series of press conferences and interviews at which the publication would reveal its "exclusive."

The deadline for the issue came and went and publicist Stone inquired of Ramparts' Hinckle as to the whereabouts of the article. Hinckle lamely explained it was still being written. Two days later, still no article. Finally Stone was told Ramparts' printer refused to print the "murders" names, but, he later told writer Ridgeway, "I hadn't ever seen the piece. I think it was a lot of junk. I don't think there were any names in the piece."

Unfortunately, however, Stone had already promised reporters an explosive story. "So I had to figure out how to get off the spot with the press people in New York," Stone related to Ridgeway.

"I had tentatively called a press conference, and I'd arranged to be on [David Susskind's] 'Open End.' So we concocted a story between us, Warren [Hinckle] and myself. We decided, we said, that we knew the names but we weren't going to print them and we wouldn't tell the authorities unless the FBI guaranteed us that they would give 'lifetime' protection to our witnesses. ...

"We went into a press conference with that kind of story and, you know, we got away with it. We got all kinds of publicity, radio, television, 'Open End,' The Times gave us a good story. We were off and running."

Thus, with a press conference drama based on nonexistent information did Ramparts get its first national publicity. From then on, according to Stone, the magazine would gain publicity by leaking just such "scoops" to the media, particularly to the New York Times ("All the News That's Fit to Print"). So Ramparts sailed into national prominence.

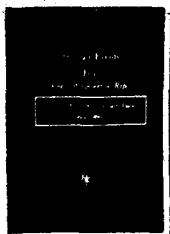
Meanwhile, the Ramparts faithful, without Hinckle, who is off and running with some new publications, are trying to revive the magazine. Some observers feel the editors might renew interest in the publication with a new expose—this one on themselves.

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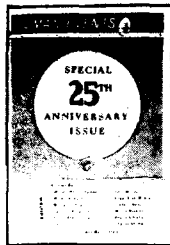
SOUTH IN WINTER—"You can bet shrewd individuals on welfare rolls will take full advantage of the recent U.S. Supreme Court decision that residency laws are unconstitutional. You can expect these individuals to migrate south when winter winds and cold make living in northern states uncomfortable and migrate north when summer heat becomes extreme in southern states. In order to remove this burden on states of seasonable migration of welfare and relief recipients, a revision on receiving welfare funds will have to be enacted if we are not to see seasonable migrations of hordes of individuals on welfare rolls. Payments by state governments to local communities for welfare almost tripled in the 1957-1967 period, increasing from \$1.025 billion to \$2.993 billion. The cost of welfare is almost certain to skyrocket again in many states following the U.S. Supreme Court ruling that residency laws are unconstitutional."—From the Weekly Labor Forecast and Review

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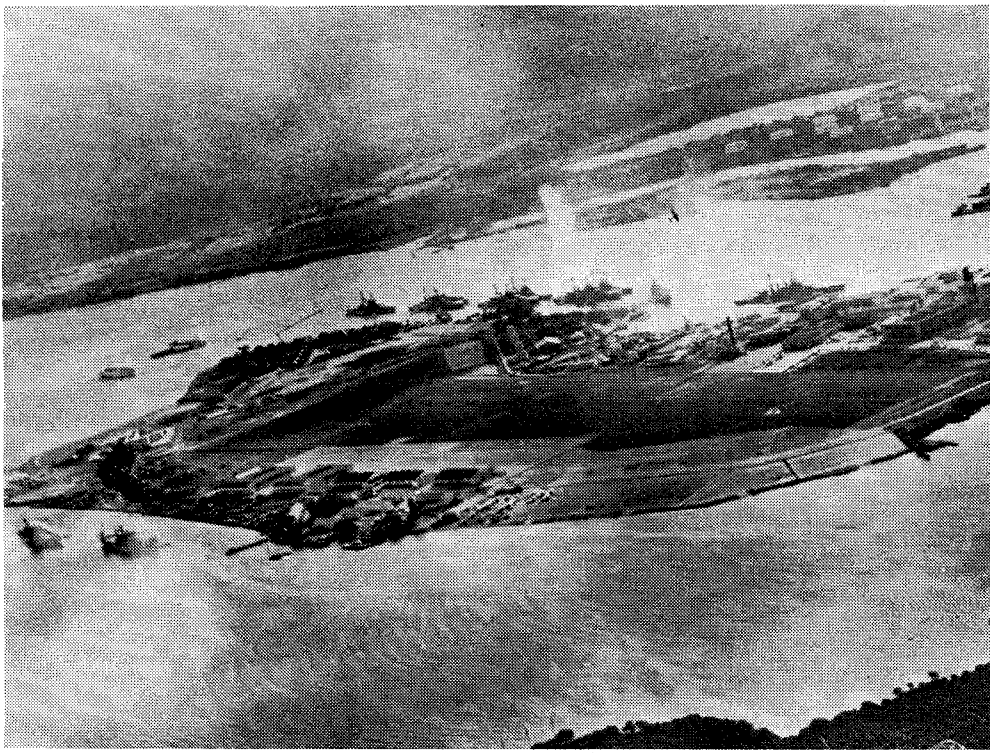
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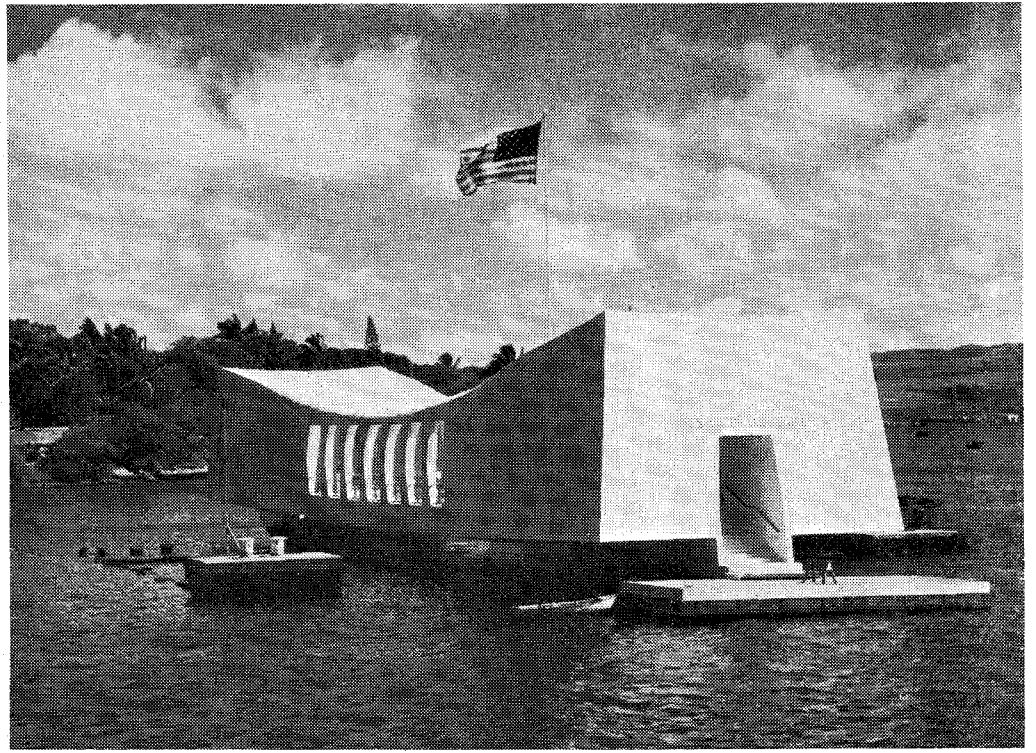
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This was the scene on Dec. 7, 1941, as Japanese planes began the attack on Pearl Harbor. In the center, the USS Oklahoma has just been hit as a Jap torpedo bomber peels off after the attack. At far left, the target ship USS Utah is already capsizing. Five U.S. battleships were sunk, although three were later salvaged.



The USS Arizona, with more than a thousand sailors entombed within her to this day, is the site of the Arizona memorial commemorating the 3,000 Americans who died during the "Day of Infamy." But the Navy, which received such a black eye that day, is now helping a movie production of the Japanese version of the holocaust.

'Tora, Tora, Tora'

Navy Cooperates on Film Glamorizing Pearl Harbor Attack

By TED LEWIS

In the last few weeks of the Johnson Administration the Navy, it now turns out, was given a go-ahead to cooperate in a Hollywood motion picture production glamorizing, if not glorifying, the Japanese sneak attack on Pearl Harbor.

Some picture. Some subject—all about this country's most horrible naval disaster as seen through Japanese eyes. What FDR called "the day of infamy" is getting the specialized Hollywood extravaganza treatment, on a slant-eyed basis, with the assistance of the United States Navy.

Oh sure, we now love the Japanese whom we used to hate. We also now love the Germans. And who knows, looking far ahead, whether some day we might even love the Communist Vietnamese whom we now hate.

So what! Only this: that the American flag still flies over the sunken hulk of the battleship *Arizona* in Pearl Harbor and in that watery shrine are the bodies of thousands of young sailors drowned on Dec. 7, 1941.

Is it then fitting and proper for the aircraft carrier *Yorktown* to be a stage prop in the Darryl Zanuck-20th Century Fox movie *Tora, Tora, Tora*? What a role for the *Yorktown* to play, that of a Japanese aircraft carrier on the sneaky Pearl Harbor mission, with Japanese flags run up, Japanese vintage-1941 planes on deck, and even Yankee enlisted men decked out in Japanese naval uniforms.

All these details concerning how willingly the Navy was suckered into helping Zanuck make a picture for private profit have to be credited to the CBS Tuesday night television show, "60 Minutes with Harry Reasoner." The whole indecent exposure job was factually solid, based on brilliant reporting, and a check-up today at our end only added to, rather than subtracted from, the disgusting revelation of the Pentagon's idea that the Navy could improve its public image by assisting in a film keyed on the theme of Pearl Harbor from the Japanese perspective.

The cast of characters in and around the Johnson Administration responsible for the nauseating use by Hollywood of Navy equipment and personnel is pretty well determined. Darryl Zanuck has admitted he put the arm on Jack Valenti, head of the Motion Picture Association,

to get through red tape in the way of Navy cooperation. Valenti has said he first wrote a letter to, and then phoned, Defense Secretary Clark Clifford, and that Clifford passed the buck to Paul Nitze, deputy defense secretary.

Nitze says he brought up the matter at a sort of routine staff meeting and public relations deputy Phil Goulding was strongly opposed, but Navy Secretary Paul R. Ignatius was for, like Nitze. All this happened last January, which goes to show how long it takes for a controversial decision with a political odor to it to leak out if the principals don't want to point with pride in public.

The Nitze-Ignatius go-ahead-with-Hollywood decision, as we get it, took into consideration the close ties that Clifford and Valenti had with LBJ. If so, it reflected the way judgments are often made in the last days of a lame duck Administration.

Otherwise, Zanuck would have been told that the Navy wanted no part of his film project. This would have been in line with a Defense Department directive issued years before and which prohibited use of government equipment or military personnel in any motion picture produced for private profit.

That directive was drawn up after Zanuck, back in the fall of 1961, had used 700 combat troops from American forces in Germany as extras in his effort to recreate on film D-Day in the picture *The Longest Day*.

Those troops were assigned to Zanuck's command by his friend Gen. Lauris Norstad, then supreme Allied commander in Europe.

What upset the Pentagon about the Norstad-Zanuck deal was that at the very time troops were moving out of Germany for the film-making in France, President Kennedy had called up thousands of reservists and National Guardsmen back home because of the serious Berlin crisis.

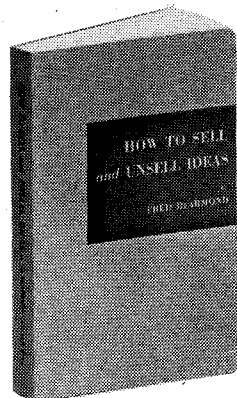
Otherwise, no one could quarrel too much with military cooperation in connection with a movie production recreating D-Day, a moment in history all Americans have pride in recalling. Pearl Harbor is different. We got hit in a sneaky, dirty way. It was a disaster, and if Zanuck doesn't complete his *Tora, Tora, Tora* by December 7 this year for box office receipt purposes, it will be a victory for all solid, sane Americans fed up already with Hollywood distortions of sex and history.

Even the title of Zanuck's production recalls a phase of the Pearl Harbor "day of infamy" that will always disturb many Americans. *Tora* means "tiger" in Japanese. *Tora, Tora, Tora* was the code word passed by Japanese aircraft to the Nipponese carriers that the attack on Pearl Harbor had begun.

In our book every ethical patriotic standard of decent conduct has been besmirched by this Navy-Zanuck tie-up aimed at making a smash hit out of a Japanese-slanted Pearl Harbor film production. There is a war on in Viet Nam, and out of San Diego sails the aircraft carrier *Yorktown*, bound for Honolulu, with 40 Japanese planes on deck, the type used in 1941. Yes, the Navy carrying Zanuck's cargo to him, aboveboard!

(1969, Chicago Tribune-N.Y. News Syndicate)

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President Revealed Only Tip of Iceberg

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

In his six-point program for ending the war in Viet Nam, President Nixon has shown us only the tip of the iceberg. An iceberg does not float on the surface of the sea. Most of it is submerged, invisible to the seaman's eye.

So it is with peacemaking. President Nixon has told us that he is engaged in secret negotiations. He has revealed nothing of these sessions. He has shown us only what is by mutual agreement the public part of peacemaking.

The President has jeopardized his credibility with the implication that this six-point program is a full statement of his position. An iceberg floating on

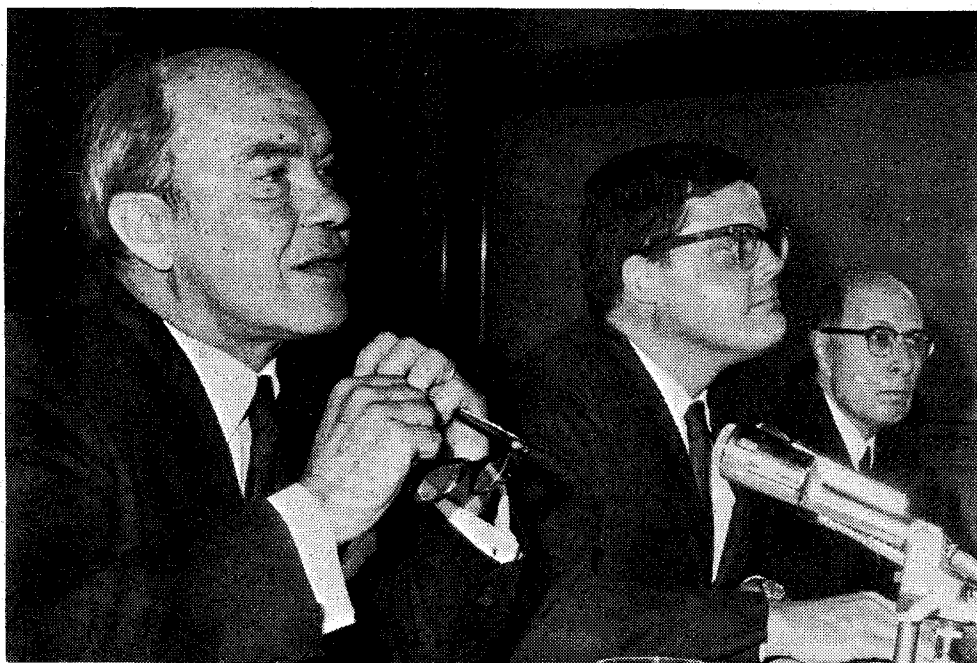
the surface of the sea would indeed be an incredible phenomenon. It would defy the laws of nature. It wouldn't make sense.

The President's program is like that, if you try to regard it as complete. It doesn't make sense. Neither Richard Nixon nor any other rational man can suppose that North Viet Nam will withdraw from Laos, Cambodia and South Viet Nam merely to assure the departure of our forces from South Viet Nam.

Hanoi invaded these countries long before we had any troops in Viet Nam, and for reasons unrelated to our pres-



President Nixon addresses the nation May 15 during which the chief executive outlines his peace plan for Viet Nam. Gen. Lane notes, however, that the war's end can be hastened by a firm military and political policy such as that followed by President Eisenhower to terminate the Korean War.



Three scientists expressed varying views on ABM deployment before a Senate Disarmament subcommittee on May 21. From left they are: Donald F. Hornig, former science adviser to LBJ; Dr. Gordon MacDonald of the University of California, and Dr. Eugene Wigner of Princeton University. Dr. Wigner said the ABM was needed.

ence. Ho Chi Minh, leader of the Communist party of French Indochina, intended to restore the unity of the three states under Communist rule. There has been no deviation from that goal, and there is nothing in the President's six points which could conceivably induce Ho Chi Minh to abandon his plans of conquest.

The President knows that these six points cannot stand alone. There must be some inducement to negotiations hidden in the secret negotiations. What could it be?

The armistice ending the fighting in

Korea was signed on July 26, 1953 (July 27, EST). It seems reasonable to suppose that Richard Nixon has set some similar target for ending the war in Viet Nam. He knows how President Eisenhower handled the earlier negotiations.

The six points offer the other side a reasonable basis for withdrawal with face-saving elections to soften the retreat. But they represent an abandonment of Communist goals which can be acceptable to the Communist leaders only if the alternative is even more distasteful. What could that alternative be?

In Korea, President Eisenhower threatened to take the offensive and to defeat the enemy on the battlefield if a cease-fire could not be negotiated promptly. This threat coming from a famous general was credible. Rather than run the risk of losing North Korea again, the Communists decided to accept a cease-fire on the general line of battle.

A settlement in Viet Nam is complicated by the lack of any defined battle line separating the opposing forces. The only such lines are the borders of the country, to which we have limited our forces. We cannot seal those borders because they are too long and too rugged. But neither can the Communists hold ground in South Viet Nam.

Despite this difference, Viet Nam is fundamentally the re-enactment of Korea. We cannot end the war by holding ground in South Viet Nam. President Truman tried that in Korea and failed. We can end the war only by attacking the enemy forces in Laos, Cambodia and North Viet Nam—as President Eisenhower was prepared to do in Korea.

President Nixon holds the same capacity which Eisenhower had to attack and destroy the enemy. He faces the same counsel against such action from advisers who are fearful of the consequences. What will he do?

This is the submerged part of the iceberg. We shall know the course taken by the President only when Hanoi accepts the six-point program or the United States takes the military offensive. If neither of these courses is taken, we are in for a long war.

Why Does War Baffle Intellectuals?

It is part of the tragic record of Viet Nam that our indefensible policy of appeasement has been sustained by intellectuals of staunch anti-Communist persuasion. Ignorance of war forecloses the choice options. Men of good heart are baffled by the conflict. Appeasement seems tolerable. The simple realities of war are more clearly perceived by our workers than by our scholars.

This aberration of the intellectuals was illustrated recently when the editors of *National Review* published a carefully drawn analysis of war policy. This excellent journal of opinion labored to bring forth a restatement of the Johnson policy which the American people rejected last year. It offers the same policy to Richard Nixon.

National Review editors concluded generally that South Viet Nam must be held for the free world, that military victory is precluded by political considerations, that we must prevent a Communist conquest in the next eight to 10 years, that both sides are tired of the fighting, that suspending the aggression for eight to 10 years would comport with Communist strategy of stepping back from defeat, and that the essential requirement for such a solution is presidential mobilization of the national will to outlast North Viet Nam.

This is tortured analysis, self-deception, wishful thinking. We are tired of the war but the Communists are not. They are gloating over the drain of U.S. resources, prestige and morale. They will continue the fighting as long as present conditions so favorable to their cause prevail. Any intimations of fatigue are a put-on to arouse our false hopes.

Secretary McNamara was going to deter Hanoi by increasing the cost of war in 1963, but he failed because he did not change the terms of combat. There is no credible evidence that Hanoi, Peking and Moscow have any interest in stopping the war short of an imposed settlement on South Viet Nam.

The editors argue that preventing the Communist conquest of South Viet Nam is an adequate goal for our side. It is not. Terms of warfare which expose our side to all the devastation of the battlefield while the enemy goes unscathed in his protected sanctuary are totally unacceptable conditions of conflict, unless you are trying to lose a war. If our soil were invaded and any American government proposed to fight indefinitely

on our territory instead of carrying the war to the enemy, that government would be stoned out of office, and justly so.

It is this "minimum objective" of the United States which has invited and sustained the Communist aggression. As long as the free world will give such decisive combat advantage to Communist "wars of liberation," Communist leaders will be quick to seize and press the advantage.

This "minimum objective" defines appeasement which has sickened our people with the endless slaughter of indecisive war. Every soldier in Viet Nam knows that only the irresolution of the President prevents our side from winning an early military decision and bringing the war to a close.

Defeating the enemy is not only a military necessity—it is a political necessity. All prudent political leaders have realized that wars must be settled with dispatch. That is why Franklin Roosevelt ended World War II in four years instead of taking 10.

It is the essence of Communist strategy to paralyze the free world's will to victory. Protracted war discredits the power which, holding the means, lacks the will or the wisdom to win.

Some argue that the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations involved us so deeply in policies of appeasement that it is no longer possible to win in Viet Nam. There is no basis for such an allegation.

President Nixon faces today the same decision which President Kennedy faced in 1962—whether to let South Viet Nam win by exercising its right, clearly defined in international law, to strike across its borders at the aggressors. It is as easy to win today as it was then. The means at hand are as ample now as they were then. The obstacles are the same.

Nixon does not have the nuclear superiority which Kennedy enjoyed, but that is not material to the issue. Settling the war in Viet Nam is not a nuclear question for either the United States or the Soviet Union. In practical values, the question of U.S. policy in Viet Nam is unchanged since 1962.

Throughout these years, the only thing lacking for victory has been leadership.

—Gen. Thomas A. Lane



Cartoonist Al Capp has delivered some devastating barbs to far-out leftist "students" and "faculty."



Alas, fair Harvard. These Ivy Leaguers carry a strike banner after police finally ejected student strikers from University Hall in Cambridge, Mass.

Harvard's Tragedy: Too Arrogant...Then Too Cowardly

By AL CAPP

(The following is the text of the commencement address Mr. Capp, the author of the cartoon strip "Li'l Abner," delivered to the graduating class at Franklin Pierce College in Rindge, N.H., April 27.)

I live in Cambridge, Mass., a stone's throw from Harvard—but if you duck you aren't hurt much—and I know you'll believe me when I tell you I'd rather be speaking here today. It's safer, and it's at your sort of college that I can use the commencement speaker's traditional phrase.

I can say you're the hope of the future without bursting out laughing, as I would if I said it at a Harvard commencement—assuming, of course, that there will be a commencement there this year. They haven't heard from the Afros or the SDS yet.

Three or four of the Afros may decide that commencements are racist institutions, and then five or six SDSers may decide that commencements are a CIA plot, and then of course the entire faculty, administration and student body of Harvard, with the courage that has made them a legend, will replace its commencement by some sort of ceremony more acceptable—something they know the boys will approve of—say, a book burning; they loved that at Columbia, or a dean killing; they never quite accomplished that at University Hall. Dean Ford let them down by having recuperative powers they didn't count on.

But the fact that you can have a commencement here without getting down on your knees to a student wrecking crew, or without calling up the riot squad, is mainly luck. You enjoy advantages Harvard doesn't.

For one thing, you have the advantage of not being so revered for the wisdom and courage of past generations of administrators that you haven't noticed the moral flabbiness and intellectual flatulence of the majority of your present generation of administrators and faculty. You show me any institution with such a glorious past that anyone presently employed by it is regarded as retroactively infallible, and I'll show you a collection of sanctimonious fatheads.

But the greatest advantage Franklin Pierce has over Harvard is that you are not rich enough to hire three such famous professors as Rosovsky, Galbraith and Handlin and not extravagant enough to waste the wisdom of the only one of them with guts and sense—Handlin. All three are world-re-

nowned historians. All three this week have helped make history.

Prof. Henry Rosovsky was born in Danzig. When the young Nazis invaded the University of Danzig in the '30s and beat up its professors and disrupted its classes, Rosovsky's family gave up their citizenship and fled to the United States. In the '60s, Rosovsky was teaching at Berkeley. When the young Nazis invaded there, Rosovsky gave up his professorship and fled to Harvard. When the young Nazis invaded there the other day, Rosovsky gave up the chairmanship of his department and started packing.

Prof. Galbraith, as national chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, was the intellectual leader of the Democratic party in the last election and one of the nation's few political thinkers over 19 who mistook Sen. McCarthy's menopausal capriciousness for high-principled statesmanship.

Prof. Handlin has won the Pulitzer Prize and other honors for his histories of those groups who, so far, have risen from their ghettos by sweating blood instead of shedding it, by shaping up instead of burning down.

Although Harvard is the home of these three wise men and hundreds more, it was the only bunch in town that was dumfounded at what happened there. Everybody else in the community expected it. We had all watched Harvard for the last few years educate its young in the rewards of criminality. We had watched Harvard become an ivy-covered Fagin.

We saw it begin a couple of years ago when Secretary of Defense McNamara was invited to speak at Harvard. Now, it is true that McNamara was a member of a despised minority group, the President's Cabinet, but under the law, he had the same rights as Mark Rudd. Harvard's Students for a Democratic Society howled obscenities at McNamara until he could not be heard.

He attempted to leave the campus. The SDS stopped his car, milled around it, tried to tip it over. McNamara left the car. The SDS began to club him on the head with the poles on which their peace posters were nailed. If it hadn't been for the arrival of the Cambridge police, who formed a protective cordon around McNamara and escorted him through a series of interconnecting cellars of university buildings to safety, he might have been killed.

The next morning Dean Monroe was asked if he would punish the SDS. And he said—and if you want to know where the malignancy started that has made a basket case of Harvard, it

started with this—Dean Monroe said that he saw no reason to punish students for what was purely a political activity.

Now, if depriving a man of his freedom to speak, if depriving him of his freedom to move, if damn nearly depriving him of his life—if that's political activity, then rape is a social event and sticking up a gas station is a financial transaction.

Now there's nothing unusual about a pack of young criminals ganging up on a stranger on their turf as the SDS ganged up on McNamara; it's called mugging. And there's nothing unusual about a respected citizen, even a dean, babbling imbecilities in an emotional crisis; it's called a breakdown.

Both are curable by the proper treatment, but there was something unusual, and chilling, too, about seeing the responsible authority, Harvard, treat a plain case of mugging as democracy in action and a plain case of hysterics as a dean in his right mind.

Well, after Harvard taught its young that the way to settle a difference of opinion is to mug anyone who differed with them, it was no surprise that they'd soon learn that shoving a banana into an instructor's mouth is the way to win a debate and bringing a meat cleaver to a conference is the way to win a concession. Because that's what's happened at Harvard in the last month.

When its militants stormed into the opening class in a new course on the causes of urban unrest and stopped it because they found it ideologically offensive, the instructor attempted to discuss it with them. So one of the militants shoved a banana into his mouth. This stopped the instructor, of course, he stopped the class and then Harvard dropped the entire course.

This week the *Crimson* published a photograph of a black militant leaving a historic conference with the administration—historic because it was here that the administration granted black students, and only black students, hiring, firing and tenure powers equal to that of any dean. The militant was holding a meat cleaver. The next day, President Pusey said that Harvard would never yield to threats. Shows how silly a man can look when he doesn't read his local paper.

President Pusey said that, by the way, at a televised mass meeting advertised as one in which all sides of the question would be fairly represented. The Harvard student body was represented by a member of the SDS (numerically, they are less than 1 per cent). The average resident of the Cambridge community was represented by a black militant graduate student who lives in

Roxbury and commutes in a new Cadillac. And anyone who'd call that unfair representation would have been mean enough to say the same thing about the Chief Rabbi of Berlin being represented by Adolf Eichmann.

And so when Harvard was raped last week, it had as much cause to be surprised as any tart who continued to flounce around the fellas after they'd unbuttoned her bodice and pulled down her panties.

What surprised the world was Harvard's response. Nowhere in the world was Mayor Daley's response to precisely the same sort of attack by precisely the same sort of mob more loftily denounced than at Harvard. Yet in its moment of truth, Harvard responded in precisely the same way Daley did.

Pusey called for the cops just as Daley did, and the cops treated the criminals at Harvard just as firmly as they treated the criminals in Chicago. The Harvard administration applauded President Pusey's action to a man. There is no record that they ever applauded Daley.

That either proves that the Harvard administration believes in the divine right of kings to act in a fashion that, in a peasant, is considered pushy. Or it may prove that President Pusey is just as Neanderthal as Mayor Daley. Or it may prove that President Pusey learned how to handle Neanderthals from Mayor Daley. At any rate, if they're looking for a new president of Harvard, I suggest they teach Mayor Daley to read and write and offer him the job.

Let's forgive the president of Harvard for not having the grace to thank the mayor of Chicago for teaching him how to protect his turf; they aren't strong on graciousness at Harvard this year. But as a member of the Cambridge community, what alarms me is that Harvard doesn't have the brains to protect itself, and the community, from further, more savage and inevitably wider-ranging attacks. And I feel that I have the right to speak for some in the Cambridge community, possibly equal to that of any resident of Roxbury who parks his car there for a few hours a few days a week.

I've lived in Cambridge over 30 years. My children and grandchildren were born and raised in Cambridge. I help pay the taxes that support Harvard. I help provide Harvard with the police that it will increasingly need to protect it from the once-decent kids it has corrupted into thugs and thieves, and the worst kind of thugs and thieves—the sanctimonious kind.

I ask, and my neighbors in the Cambridge community are asking: If a horde of howling, half-educated, half-grown and totally de-

Continued on next page

(Continued from preceding page)

pendent half-humans can attack visitors in their cars, and deans in their offices, and get away with it, how long before they'll widen their horizons a block or two and attack us in our homes?

If they can use clubs and meat cleavers on the Harvard community today and get away with it, who stops them from using clubs and meat cleavers on the Cambridge community tomorrow? Certainly not the Harvard community.

If it was necessary last week for Harvard to organize a round-the-clock guard to prevent the untoilet-trained pups they've made into mad dogs from blowing up the Widener Library and the Fogg Museum, must we of the Cambridge community prepare to defend ourselves from the pack Harvard has loosed among us? Or should we all pull a Rosovsky and take off to safe, sane Saigon where it's legal to shoot back at your enemy?

When the president of Harvard proved that, in a crisis, he was the intellectual equal of the mayor of Chicago and called the cops, it was his finest hour. Although it was true that he had presided over the experimental laboratory that created the Frankenstein's monster that stomped mindlessly into University Hall, fouling everything in its path, he did, at long last, recognize what he had wrought and took the steps to rid his university and our community of the filthy thing.

After throwing the SDS out physically, the next sane move was obviously to keep them out officially, and expel them. And leave them to the criminal courts to educate, or to the Army, or to the gutters of Toronto, or to the rehabilitation centers and public charity of Stockholm. Their few score places at Harvard, and those of their

sympathizers, could have been instantly filled by any of the tens of thousands of fine youngsters, black and white, they had been chosen instead of.

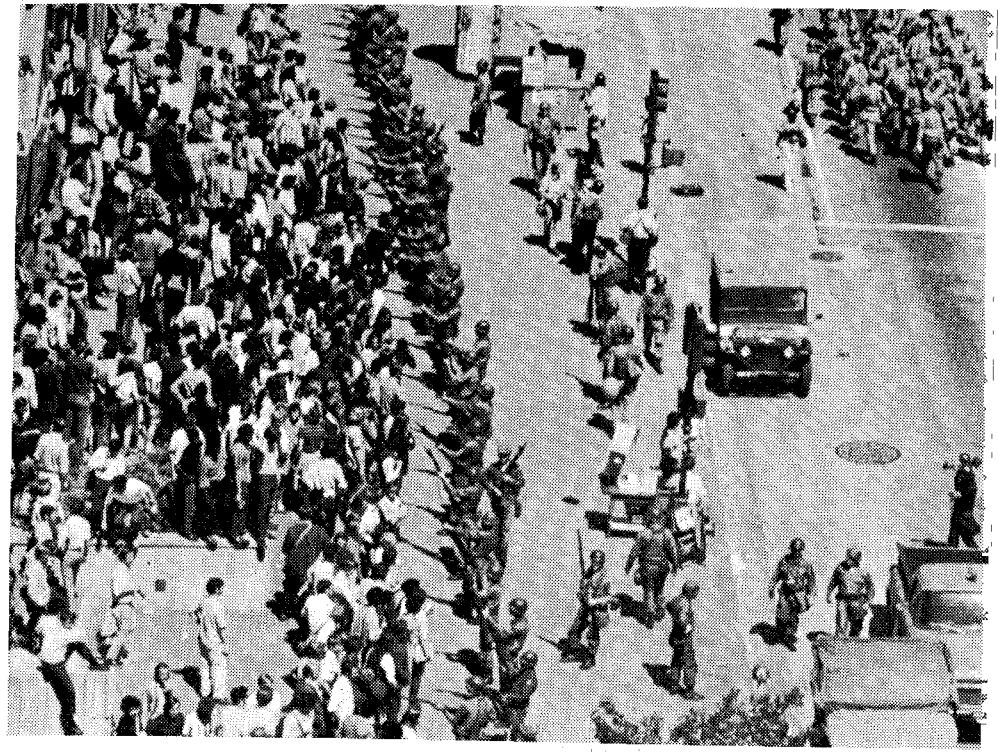
And Harvard could have gone on with pride and strength as an institution of learning, as an example of the vigor of the democratic process to other universities, instead of degenerating into the pigpen and playpen it is today. But after the president of Harvard made the one move that might have saved Harvard, the Harvard faculty, in the words of San Francisco State President Hayakawa, betrayed him.

And that brings us back to Rosovsky and Galbraith. And to Handlin.

Rosovsky, whose family had given up and fled when the German Nazis invaded the University of Danzig, who gave up and fled when the California Nazis invaded Berkeley, gave up the chairmanship of his course and started packing when the Cambridge Nazis invaded University Hall. And all over this country—at Cornell, in New York—other professors are using the Rosovsky solution: giving up and running away. The only trouble with it is that, sooner or later, you run out of places to run away to.

Now, the Galbraith solution is one that is bound to be popular with his fellow puberty-worshippers: those who have just achieved puberty, and those who worship those who have just achieved it as sources of infinite wisdom and quite a few votes. But I'm not criticizing Galbraith's religious convictions. What I say is, in this country, any professor who is panting to get back into public life is free to worship the SDS chapter of his choice.

Galbraith's solution is to promptly restructure our universities—and Harvard more promptly than any other, because,



National Guardsmen with fixed bayonets keep order at the University of California campus in Berkeley. This particular student uprising took place because the University of California wanted to take over a favorite hippie hunting ground for an athletic field.

in Galbraith's opinion, those who administer Harvard have "little comprehension of the vast and complex scientific and scholarly life they presume to govern." Well, now, who does Galbraith presume to replace them with?

If those who created Harvard, and made it into the vast and complex scientific and scholarly structure it became, must be restructured out of it because they have too little comprehension, who has enough? The only ones who claim they have, and who will shove a banana into the mouth of anyone who denies it, are the student militants.

And so the Galbraith solution is a forthright one: Let the lunatics run the asylum.

Well, I'm going to tell Galbraith the news: they've already tried your sort of restructuring, Ken. They tried it at Berkeley; they tried it at Cornell; they tried it at Harvard all last week, and the result was that on Friday, a mob of militant students, of a Harvard frenziedly restructured to suit their wildest whims, marched into the Harvard planning offices.

They shouted obscene charges at Planner Goyette. When he attempted to answer, they shouted him down with obscenities. They demolished the architectural model of Harvard's building plans, they kicked over files, they hurled telephones to the floor. And while Goyette cowered and his secretaries screamed, they marched out, uninterfered with by the six policemen who were summoned there presumably to see that they remained uninterfered with, unrebuked and, of course, unsatisfied.

And they won't be satisfied until Harvard is restructured the way they restructured Hiroshima. They'll be back, on another day, to another office. Possibly Galbraith's.

Well, those were the voices that prevailed at Harvard, the resigners like Rosovsky, the restructurers like Galbraith. (Prof. Galbraith, it seems, has decided on the Rosovsky method for himself. He has announced that he is taking off for Trinity College at Cambridge University for one year while the restructuring goes on.)

There was another voice, however, the voice of Oscar Handlin.

Prof. Handlin said he was appalled at the argument that the students' takeover of University Hall, their attack on the deans, their destruction of private property and their thefts from personal files were unwise but not criminal. It was criminal, said Handlin, by every decent standard.

If Harvard had not chickened out,

said Handlin, if it had had the courage to recognize the criminality on its campus over the last few years, beginning with the beating up and silencing of McNamara and continuing through innumerable other incidents of the brutal deprivation by its mad-dog students of the rights of those who dared to dissent with them, it "would not be in the position it is in today—following the road that Berkeley has followed, following the road that has destroyed other universities."

Oscar Handlin urged Harvard not to go down that road. That was last week. This week Harvard has gone so far down the road that it can never turn back. In this last frantic, fatal, foolish week, Harvard has reversed the civil rights advances of the last 20 years.

Today at Harvard, any student with the currently fashionable color of skin is given rights denied to students of the currently unfashionable color. Harvard, which educated the President who brought America into the war that defeated fascism, today honors and encourages and rewards its fascists. Harvard, which once turned out scholars and gentlemen, now turns out thugs and thieves—or let me put it this way: now, if you are a thug and thief, Harvard won't turn you out.

Once people were attracted to the Cambridge community because Harvard was there. Today, because Harvard is there, people are fleeing the Cambridge community, even Harvard's own.

Harvard's tragedy was that it was too arrogant to consider that it too might be vulnerable to the cancer that is killing other universities. And when Oscar Handlin diagnosed it as malignant, Harvard was too cowardly to endure the radical surgery that could save its life.

And that's why I can say that colleges like yours, as yet too unproven to have become arrogant, and too determined to prove yourself to be anything but courageous, are the hope of the future. Because I believe that America has a future.

It has become unfashionable to say this; it may be embarrassing to hear it; but I believe that America is the most lovely and livable of all nations. I believe that Americans are the kindest and most generous of all people.

I believe there are no underprivileged Americans; that even the humblest of us are born with a privilege that places us ahead of anyone else, anywhere else the privilege of living and working in America, of repairing and renewing America; and one more privilege that no one seems to get much fun out of lately—the privilege of loving America.

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Predictions on ARA Loan Come True

Government selling motel mortgage at heavy loss

Five years ago *Human Events*, in reporting on the activities of the federal Area Redevelopment Association (ARA), then one of the government's chief "poverty fighting" agencies, described how the ARA was threatening to force a Texas widow into bankruptcy. The federal agency had invested a total of \$700,000, through a community group in the east Texas town of Woodville, for construction of a 72-room "luxury" motel.

There was, however, already one existing motel in Woodville, owned and operated by Mrs. James Willis. Together with her late husband, Mrs. Willis had opened the Willis Motel in the late '40s and, through frugal saving and careful investment, had built it up into a 24-room, comfortable lodging which, by 1963, operated at 85 per cent occupancy.

And then the government-financed Community Motor Inn opened. Because Woodville, Tex., is not exactly a top-notch tourist attraction, the 1,600-resident town had little need for two competing motels. But the ARA could not be dissuaded and went ahead with the project.

As a result, Mrs. Willis' occupancy rate dropped some 35 percentage points and she was forced to cut back on staff help; her monthly gross income dropped from around \$2,100 to \$1,000. The ARA, in this instance, had succeeded in lowering employment and raising the specter of bankruptcy before Mrs. Willis.

"If the new motel doesn't make money, I and the rest of the taxpayers will have to pay for it. If it does succeed, I'll probably be run out of business. Tell me, what is happening to this country?," *Human Events* quoted Mrs. Willis as asking in its June 20, 1964 issue.

As with most expeditions undertaken by the federal government, the ramifications and damages did not end with Mrs. Willis desperately pinching pennies while the Community Inn prospered. If such had happened the government could at least claim it had made a good—if somewhat heartless—investment.

But a recent article in the *Houston Post* tells another story. The Community Inn—now known as the Dogwood

Motel—is in trouble. It is described—somewhat politely, local residents say—as being "run down," with roaches the most active tenants. And the federal government is now rather desperate to wash its hands of the mess.

The Woodville community group which borrowed the \$700,000 from ARA and operated the motel has not repaid one cent on the mortgage in the past five years. The Commerce Department's Economic Development Association, which took over ARA projects when Congress dumped the old agency in 1965, has threatened to foreclose on the mortgage and sell the Community-Dogwood Motel.

The motel has been appraised at a value of from \$300,000 to \$350,000, but those who know the property say this figure is somewhat optimistic. The *Houston Post* quotes one Woodville source as saying the Dogwood Motel needs \$75,000 worth of "minor repairs" and could stand many more, and another local observer as noting, somewhat cryptically, "who knows how much advertising it would take to undo the motel's present reputation?"

"The motel project," said the *Post*, "was supposed to trigger a boom in the tourist industry that would bring a better life to the residents of this section of the east Texas piney wood. . . . Instead, it has—from the day it opened—run down, down, down."

For this reason and because it wants to get out of the Woodville motel business as fast as possible, the govern-

ment is seriously considering a bid of \$165,000 for the mortgage from the Tyler County Industrial Corp. This investment group has as members many of the same men who borrowed the \$700,000 from the government originally. "Under the circumstances," says an official with the Economic Development Association, this mortgage purchase offer "looks good."

So, fine. The federal bureaucrats have learned that the Founding Fathers were probably wise in not including motel operations as a constitutional function of government and the U.S. taxpayers would only be out some \$535,000 if the EDA sells at the offered price.

But what of Mrs. James Willis, a worthy example of those "forgotten Americans" politicians talk about almost as much as they forget about? How has Mrs. Willis fared in her bout with the government's version of "free enterprise"?

The Willis Motel continued to operate, constantly on the brink of bankruptcy and with Mrs. Willis regularly dipping into her savings to make up for deficits. In 1967, at the age of 72, she decided to call it quits, retire and sell the motel she and her husband had started some 20 years before. Her selling price was \$25,000 below the appraised value.

With the continued deterioration of the Dogwood Motel, the new owners of the Willis Motel (the name has been retained) have been able to raise the occupancy rate to a yearly average of 50 per cent and are "just about making a living." Still, if the government had not decided to build a competing motel, the Willis' owners claim they "would be full-up year-round."

End of the episode? Don't bet on it.

Below is the *Human Events* cover story, June 20, 1964, that first discussed and advised against the ARA Texas boondoggle.

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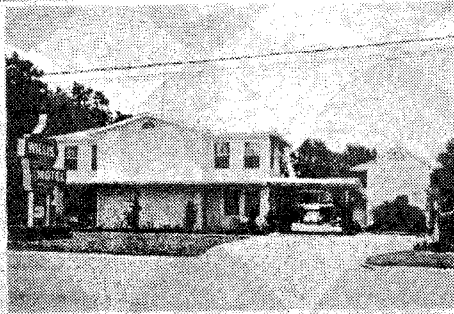
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NEWSPAPER

Johnson's ARA Program Bankrupting Widow



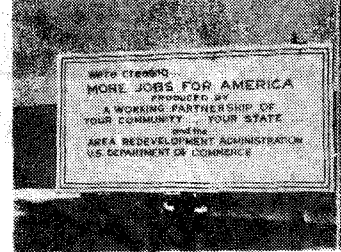
Mrs. James R. Willis, owner of the Willis Motel (right).



The average occupancy rate at Mrs. Willis' motel was 85 per cent before the federally financed Community Inn opened. Now it's 50 per cent.



Woodville Community Inn
72 ROOM MOTOR HOTEL
UNDER CONSTRUCTION
PROJECT COST: \$800,000.00
FINANCING: AREA REDEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION
CONGRESSMAN JACK BROOKS



COMMUNITY MOTOR INN
MORE JOBS FOR AMERICA
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Local congressman wanted credit for new motel. With LBJ's signature, these signs appear at ARA sites.

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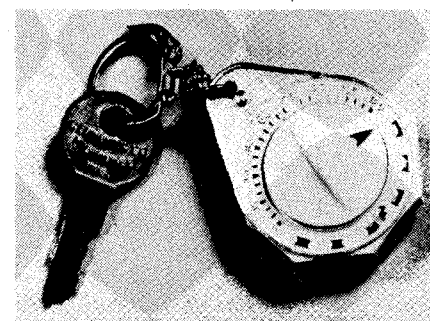
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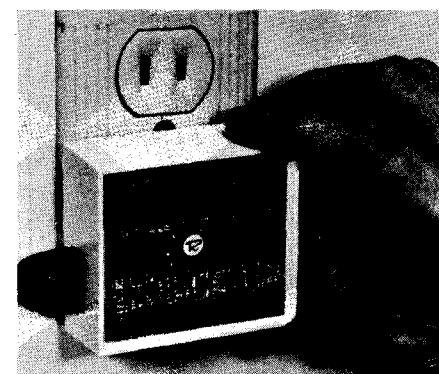
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Puhan Appointment Shows the Need For New Otepka at State Department

By PAUL SCOTT

The urgent need of the Nixon Administration for an Otto Otepka, the State Department's former top security evaluator, is clearly indicated by the appointment of Alfred Puhan as U.S. ambassador to Communist Hungary.

The selection of Puhan, confirmed by the Senate this month without debate, was made by the President at the same time the Federal Bureau of Investigation was turning over to the State Department some very shocking information concerning Puhan's foreign activities.

When Otepka, whose appointment as a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board is now pending before the Senate, was in charge of security evaluation of State Department personnel, this information would have been given the President before he made the appointment.

None of the information gathered by the FBI on Puhan's activities while acting deputy assistant secretary of state for European Affairs, director of the Office of German Affairs, chief of the

Berlin Section in the Office of German Affairs, or as an employee of the United States Information Service, was ever shown to the President or members of the Senate before they routinely confirmed the controversial foreign service officer.

During his appearance before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Puhan was only briefly questioned by Sen. J. William Fulbright, chairman, during a hearing at which the committee considered several State Department appointments.

Fulbright questioned Puhan about the status of Jozsef Cardinal Mindzenty, a refugee in the American Embassy in Budapest since the abortive 1956 Hungarian uprising, while another committee member inquired about Puhan's tour of duty in Thailand.

At one point in the hearing Fulbright asked Puhan to review the Mindzenty case after taking over his Iron Curtain assignment and make a report directly to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

As if expecting the request, Puhan agreed that this would be his first order

of business if the Senate confirmed his nomination so he could undertake the Budapest assignment.

Because of the strategic importance of the American Embassy in Budapest, considered one of the key U.S. listening posts in Eastern Europe, this column has decided to reveal highlights of sworn statements gathered by the FBI in their investigation of Puhan.

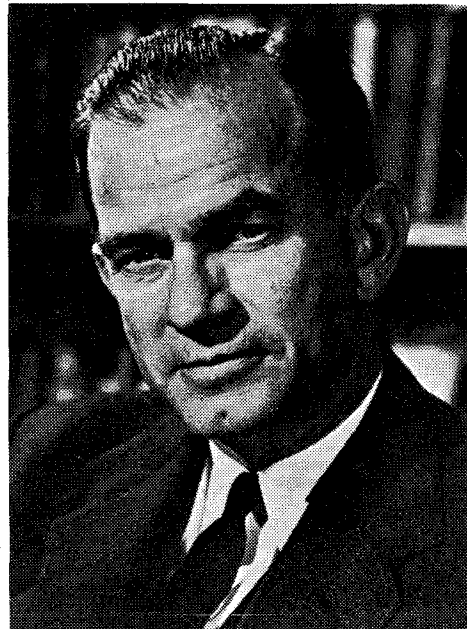
The investigative file, turned over to the State Department, contained numerous statements from co-workers dating back to Puhan's employment in the U.S. Information Service charging that he was pro-Soviet and had eliminated criticism of Communist countries from the agency's news reports.

One statement charged that Puhan consistently used his official position during the past four years to erode, weaken and adversely modify the institutions, policies, mechanism and legal structures erected to shore up the U.S. position in Central Europe and Berlin.

Illustrative examples of Puhan's questionable policy judgments and activities are as follows:

- While acting deputy assistant secretary of state for European Affairs, Puhan encouraged all efforts to see to it that Rudi Dutschke, the militant pro-Communist student leader in Berlin, receive a visa to the U.S.

In several provocative speeches in Europe, Dutschke has been militantly



Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) did not question Puhan too closely.

anti-American, calling for U.S. defeat in Viet Nam and a withdrawal of American forces from Europe. Dutschke's efforts to obtain a visa to this country were blocked by congressional pressure on the White House.

- Puhan, in conversations with his superiors and co-workers, scoffed at and exposed to ridicule reports submitted by the U.S. minister in Berlin concerning the seriousness of East German Communist encroachments against Berlin during March and April 1968. These culminated in the June 1968 crisis over new restrictions on travel, which are still in effect, proving that the U.S. minister in Berlin had been correct in his assessment.

- On several occasions within the past year, Puhan provided inaccurate information to senior State Department officers, including then Secretary of State Rusk. In at least two instances the information related to Soviet intentions



Ambassador-designate Alfred Puhan has had a rather checkered diplomatic career.

in Europe and if accepted by State Department policy makers could have greatly aided Russia.

- Puhan vigorously opposed making an Air Force plane available to West German Chancellor Kiesinger on June 13, 1968, to fly to West Berlin. At that time the West Germans needed that kind of public U.S. support because the East Germans had begun harassing travel to the beleaguered city.

- State Department records clearly show that Puhan opposed constructive efforts to improve U.S. posture in Berlin in a number of ways, including the standardization of U.S., French and British documents. Despite Puhan's opposition, the standardization was approved by the Berlin Task Force, an inter-departmental group that coordinated U.S. policy for Berlin. This policy was later agreed to by our allies.

- Enraged by being overruled, Puhan then tried unsuccessfully to abolish the Berlin Task Force of which he served first as secretariat and then director. It was this group of Berlin experts that coordinated U.S. policy during President Nixon's highly successful visit to Berlin on February 27.

- While in a key policy-making role involving West Berlin, Puhan was unwilling to permit a police raid on a West Berlin commuter suburban railroad station in which the Communists were known to have stored arms in direct violation of the demilitarized status of Berlin. Co-workers of Puhan reported that he persisted in blocking action to move ahead with the arms raid despite the fact that all of the Allied ministers and commandants (U.S., French, British) had agreed tripartitely that this course was absolutely necessary to protect West Berlin's security.

- Puhan also initiated the ill-conceived action that led to the banning from West Berlin of a Latvian youth group which was scheduled to hold a meeting in that island of freedom in a Communist sea.

This is only a part of the information gathered by the FBI that was never made available to the President or members of the Senate before they voted earlier this month to confirm Puhan's nomination as American ambassador to Hungary.

Had Otto Otepka been in the State Department the story would have been different. The Puhan case was one of those he had listed for evaluation at the time high-level State Department officials removed Otepka from his security post.

Did McNamara Give False Data to Congress on TFX?

Sen. John McClellan's (D.-Ark.) Permanent Investigating subcommittee has obtained previously secret documents indicating that former Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara gave false information before Congress on the TFX contract. The documents are transcripts of dozens of meetings attended by McNamara at the Pentagon.

Disclosed recently in news reports by Clark Mollenhoff of the Des Moines Register, these transcripts demonstrate that the former defense secretary positively knew of serious deficiencies in all three versions of the TFX at the very moment he was making public statements denying these deficiencies.

Further, they reveal that McNamara gave false and evasive testimony before the Senate Appropriations Committee in January 1967 in denying that he had arranged for regular meetings with General Dynamics Corp. officials and had been a participant in most of these meetings.

The transcripts demonstrate that Mc-



Former Defense Secretary McNamara apparently knew much more about the TFX than he was willing to tell Congress.

Namara not only arranged for the secret sessions with General Dynamics and top-level civilian officials at the Pentagon, but at these gatherings expressed serious doubts about whether the various versions of the TFX—the Navy, Air Force and bomber models—would be able to perform their missions. This was during the same period when McNamara's public comments, his testimony and the Pentagon were giving the most glowing reports on the TFX.

In the secret sessions, McNamara talked about the "disgraceful" cost of the TFX as estimates zoomed from \$2.8 million a plane to over \$10 million. Yet in his public testimony McNamara indicated he did not know the exact increases, but he considered them reasonable.

As a member of the Appropriations subcommittee on defense spending, McClellan questioned McNamara extensively concerning reports that top Navy officers wanted to cancel the F-111B plane because of deficiencies, including the under-powered P-1 version of the TF-30 engine. But McNamara indicated a lack of specific knowledge about the engine problem.

The transcripts, however, indicated that McNamara had gone over the engine problem in detail and knew that the P-1 was not satisfactory and that an expensive redesign of the F-111B would be necessary to accommodate the new high-powered P-12 engine.

Despite assertions by McNamara at the time that he would make records of these meetings available, Mollenhoff discloses that both "the McClellan subcommittee and the Appropriations Committee ran into a locked door in efforts to obtain any records of the discussion between McNamara and his subordinates and the General Dynamics officials." The new Administration, however, has now lifted the secrecy lid.

Who Speaks for Whom?

By MORRIE RYSKIND

A growing stack of notes from Protestant church members asks my authority for stating here, some weeks ago, that the National Council of Churches had given funds to such groups as the Students for a Democratic Society and the Black Panthers.

My source is the recent Los Angeles chief of police, Tom Reddin, a gentleman not given to wild allegations. His charge was based on information gathered by local police intelligence.

A Council spokesman flew out to demand a retraction, saying Reddin had probably meant the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, which admittedly has helped finance such militants.

It was true, he conceded, that IFCO shares a building with NCC and that the two regard themselves as "brothers," but insisted there was no financial link between them. But Reddin stuck to his guns and produced an article in a religious publication which seemed to back his contention.

On past performances, I go along with Reddin. This is not the first time that the left-leaning board of NCC has been found in dubious company. The record indicates that it by no means speaks for the 40 million Protestants it theoretically represents.

About 20 years ago the NCC board asked that we recognize Red China. And this was interpreted, in view of the many churches which pay tithes to NCC, as the authentic voice of American Protestantism.

But Dr. Daniel Poling, a prominent clergyman, was a doubting Thomas. He sent letters to thousands of Methodist, Presbyterian and Episcopal pastors asking for their stand. And, overwhelmingly, the ministers repudiated the board, with many churches withdrawing from NCC as a result.

In February 1968 an NCC policy statement repeated its unceasing demand for the admission of Red China to the United Nations, called for us to recognize Cuba and East Germany, and asked that we remove all restrictions on imports from Communist countries.

In July the World Council of Churches (with which NCC is affiliated) made similar recommendations with a few extra touches:

- The adoption of One-World Government, by suggesting that the rulings of the International Court of Justice be accepted without reservation.
- Endorsement of the Marxist philosophy of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need" in our treatment of non-industrialized countries.
- And the approval of the NCC stand of unilateral "immediate and unconditional" cessation of our bombing in Viet Nam—with no call for reciprocity by Hanoi.

Now all these measures may be desirable—but again, they represent the NCC board rather than the members who pay for it. Certainly for countless thousands of different political hue, it is taxation without representation.

I have before me a full-page ad in the New York Times of November 18 of last year, placed by the Clergymen's Committee on China (which was founded by the late Dr. Poling). In this a thousand or so Protestant ministers denounce the NCC position on the ground that it savors more of the soap-box than the pulpit. And an additional 3,126 clergy, "whose names could not be placed in this statement due to the limitation of space, have given endorsement to this statement."

And early this year, NCC released and distributed an "exclusive" interview with Gus Hall, head of the Communist party here, in which that sainted

defender of Russ intervention in Czechoslovakia (and everywhere else) has this to say:

"Communism and the church share so many goals that they ought to exist for one another. Our fight is not with God; it's with capitalism and all that capitalism has done to oppress people. Commu-

nist goals are identical to those espoused by the liberal church. We should work together for the same thing."

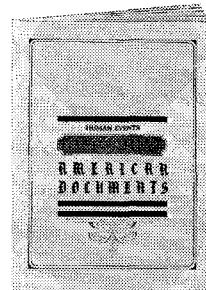
You don't have to read the *Daily World*, apparently, to get Communist propaganda. Not when the NCC is sending the news of Gus Hall's conversion to 40 million Protestants.

Doubtless Heaven—with which NCC is in close touch—rejoiced at the glorious tidings. But the question still remains down here about the NCC—who speaks for whom?

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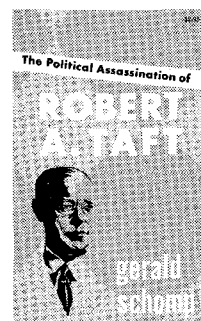
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How Judges Make Law

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Two years ago, on June 12, 1967, the Supreme Court handed down its landmark decision in the Allis-Chalmers case. The verdict was a close call within the court. A five-man majority couldn't be mustered until Justice White doubtfully concurred. Black, Douglas, Harlan and Stewart strongly dissented.

Well, it is said that times change, and so they do; and the court's decision a few weeks ago in *Scofield vs. NLRB* offers a melancholy comment on what a difference a couple of years can make. This time it wasn't 5 to 4 in support of a labor union; it was 7 to 1. Justice White actually wrote the opinion. Only Justice Black stuck by his guns. The result is that a judge-made amendment now has been firmly engrafted onto the Taft-Hartley Act.

If the American people are to give even lip service to the old doctrine of "separation of powers," it is important to understand what the judicial branch has gotten away with in the two cases. The power of judges to "make law" is of course a necessary power; but it never was intended to embrace a power to substitute the desires of judges for the plain intentions of Congress.

The statute at issue in the two cases goes back to 1947. Congress was then attempting to redress the awful imbalance in labor policy that had developed from the old Wagner Act. A primary object of Taft-Hartley was to free the individual union member from some of the worst tyrannies of organized labor. After deliberate debate, Congress under-

took to protect each member's right to refrain from "concerted activities." In Section 8(b)(1) of the act, Congress made it an unfair labor practice for any union to "restrain or coerce" a member who seeks to exercise that right.

The purpose of the 1947 act is not ambiguous. The language of the section is perfectly clear. As Black remarked two years ago, any union official with sufficient intelligence to be chosen as such "could hardly fail to comprehend the meaning of these plain, simple, English words."

Two years ago, in the Allis-Chalmers case, it appeared that a union member named Benjamin Natzke had refused to join in a strike of his United Auto Workers local. The strike was, of course, a "concerted activity." Under what was thought to be the law, Natzke had a right not to join. And when the union smacked him with a heavy fine, and sought to enforce the fine by suit in Milwaukee County Court, most observers imagined that the union's action would be condemned as "restraint or coercion."

Not so. The court approved the fine on Natzke as a proper exercise of the union's power "to protect its status against erosion." But throughout its opinion two years ago, the majority

seemed to be emphasizing that strikes were something special. Natzke was punished "for strikebreaking." The seriousness of his offense, by union standards, apparently figured in the majority's reasoning.

The *Scofield* case, just recently decided, blandly enlarges upon Allis-Chalmers. This case involved four UAW members, Russell Scofield, Lawrence Hansen, Emil Stefanec and George Kozbiel, who were machine operators at the West Allis plant of Wisconsin Motor Corp. Here the union's "concerted activity" took the form of a union rule limiting production and wages on piecework.

The four sinners, eager to earn more money by working a little harder, exceeded production quotas. The union hit them with fines from \$50 to \$100. Now the Supreme Court has approved the UAW's action. In the court's easy-going view, such fines are not "restraint or coercion."

North Carolina's Sen. Sam Ervin, burned up at the court's disregard of clear congressional intention, has introduced a bill to restore the meaning of Section 8(b)(1). Maybe his bill will pass this time around, though a similar bill after Allis-Chalmers died in committee. In any event, Ervin is seeking to maintain an important principle. The power to fix labor policy is vested not in the court, but in Congress. It would be useful sharply to remind the judges of that fact.

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Study of Current Events: Can It Be 'Objective'?

By RUSSELL KIRK

Most high school students examine, weekly, some national publication written expressly for secondary schools and intended to acquaint pupils with current affairs. Just how valuable, especially with regard to impartiality, are these national classroom newspapers—among them *Senior Scholastic*, *School Weekly*, *World Week*, *American Observer* and *Our Times*?

William T. Lowe, of Cornell University, has made a study of this subject, and his summary, "Objectivity of Classroom Current Events Periodicals," was published in a recent number of the *Journal of Educational Research*. He appointed a panel of "judges" (college and high school teachers) to assess the "objectivity," and the degree of conservatism or liberalism, of the five school-news weeklies named above, and also of *Time*, *Newsweek*, *U.S. News & World Report*, *The New Republic* and *National Review*.

The panel of teachers found that the five weekly papers for students all were more liberal in their political views than any of the adult publications except *The New Republic*. Yet at the same time the "judges" found that three of these same papers for secondary schools were more "objective" than the adult publications.

Perhaps these teacher-judges are not very "objective" themselves. Pretty clearly, they equate "liberalism" with "objectivity" and "conservatism" with bias. That is only sanctifying one's own prejudices.

One fault of this study is that it compares unlike publications—or publications that ought to be unlike, anyway. For the conservative *National Review* and the liberal *New Republic* do not pretend, or desire, to be mere impartial news-reporting publications; these weekly journals of opinion frankly represent definite points of view in politics; that's their valuable function.

Time, *Newsweek* and *U.S. News & World Report*, although weekly news magazines, are not taken by anybody to be wholly impartial—and the latter two also publish signed columns by individual contributors. Their function is not quite the same as that which weekly papers for classroom information and discussion are supposed to fulfill.

The Lowe study contains some mordant criticisms of these national papers for high school students and suggests that it might be well for teachers to employ, in part or altogether, "outside" sources of news and comment on current events—including the adult magazines examined in this study itself.

"If classroom journals try to be objective, even neutral," Mr. Lowe writes, "is this an argument for not using them? If we want future citizens to be critical consumers of the news media, shouldn't we let them practice evaluating sources in school? If children are old and bright enough to use adult news sources, shouldn't they use them? Is it really true that high school students (many of them) can't read or won't read adult news sources? We doubt it."

This commentator adds that if the teacher-judges are correct in their assessment of the national classroom papers as being distinctly more "liberal" than any adult publication considered except *The New Republic*, then the editors of those classroom publications are engaged in a work of propaganda, conscious or unconscious.

For real objectivity, it would be better for pupils to read their local daily newspaper, presumably, or one of the four or five adult newspapers which achieve considerable daily or weekly national circulation.

The notion of perfect "objectivity" in news reporting implies that there exists only one true and correct point of view about current affairs and that the facts are easily available to editors and journalists. Fairness and honesty are much to be desired in newspapers of any sort; but a Utopian "objectivity" usually is a mask for concealed prejudices and partisanship.

(Copyright 1969, Los Angeles Times)

□ □ □

ROTC AND MIT—By a margin of over 4 to 1, the faculty at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, usually considered a liberal school, voted May 14 to reject a motion to abolish the Reserve Officers Training Corps. Perhaps the faculty had learned some lessons from the capitulation by Harvard, MIT's neighbor down the river in Cambridge.

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Red Intentions

By REP. ED DERWINSKI (R.-Ill.)

I would like to point out, since this is a practical world, there is one item which I believe the President underplayed in his Viet Nam address. This is the fact that we are not going to have permanent peace and freedom in the world until the Communists stop their aggression. We ought to keep in mind that the people of South Viet Nam are the victims of deliberate Communist aggression against their country. We are not the aggressors there, regardless of the Communist propaganda that may be directed at world opinion. We are not going to have peace in Southeast Asia, in Africa, the Middle East, or Latin America until the Communists renounce their drive for world conquest.



It is wishful thinking to believe that one noble statement by the President of the United States is going to change the evil intentions of the world's Communist leaders. I certainly hope that we will not be lulled into a false sense of security or hope by the President's great address. As practical and as sound as it was, the real menace to world peace remains the diabolical plans of the tyrants in the Kremlin and Peking. Until they understand that aggression does not pay, the freedom of the world remains in jeopardy.

Justice Selection

By REP. CLARENCE BROWN JR. (R.-Ohio)

The Supreme Court, long regarded as an ivory tower above the strife and turmoil of American politics, has lost a great deal of its former luster in recent years, not only because of the activities of Justice Fortas but because of the extra-judicial activities of some of the other justices. In addition, some of its decisions are blamed for the growing breakdown of law and order in our society. The bill I have introduced in the 90th and 91st Congresses to change the present method of selecting our Supreme Court justices would go a long way, I feel, toward returning the Supreme Court to the prestigious position it formerly enjoyed in the public confidence. Under my proposal, the highest-ranking justices on each state court would nominate a list of qualified individuals from which the President would have to make his selections for filling vacancies on the High Court.

Fortas Affair

By REP. WILMER MIZELL (R.-N.C.)

Mr. Abe Fortas took the only course open to him in resigning from the Supreme Court. Had he remained on the bench, the American people could not have retained their confidence in the highest court in the land. With one of its members engaged in questionable activities and receiving money from questionable associates, their faith



would have been severely shaken. I am certain that the Congress would have demanded Mr. Fortas' resignation, or it would have begun impeachment proceedings. Either course by the Congress would have been a further blow to the confidence of the American people in the court.

Members of the Supreme Court should be men of character with high principles and integrity beyond reproach. Had it not been for the wisdom of the Republican leadership in the form of men like Senators Robert Griffin and Strom Thurmond, Mr. Fortas would now be chief justice of the Supreme Court. If he had been appointed last year as the previous Administration desired, chances are that none of these charges would have been made and the facts brought to light.

We now call upon President Nixon to screen very carefully the men he would name to fill this position. He will have the opportunity to make great headway in restoring the confidence of the American people in the High Court.

Fishing Rights

By REP. TOM PELL (R.-Wash.)

Recently Peru seized another American fishing vessel which was drifting on the high seas, 25 miles off her shore which is not recognized by international law. But what makes this latest seizure so much more serious is that a delegation from Peru only a day or so before had concluded a round of talks, labelled "cordial" by our State Department. The Washington, D.C., meetings had been held with the State Department looking toward better relations between our countries. For 15 years these seizures have been taking place, and for this entire time the Peruvians have refused to take the issue of their claim of 200 miles jurisdiction to the conference table or to submit it to mediation, or the International Court of Justice. Now, there is but one way to go, as I see it, and the chairman of the Fish and Wildlife Subcommittee of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee [Rep. John Dingell (D.-Mich.)] at my request has scheduled a hearing shortly on my bill—H. R. 10607—to cut off imports of fish and fish products from any country illegally seizing U.S. fishing vessels.

□ □ □

HART STUNT—In a letter to the editor of *Time* magazine, Mrs. Wayne Falke of Oxford, Ohio, made the following comment on the well-publicized week that Sen. Philip Hart (D.-Mich.) and family spent living on welfare-payment income in an attempt to prove that these payments should be raised: "Mrs. Philip Hart must either be a lousy shopper or a pretty unimaginative cook," said Mrs. Falke, "if she can't feed a family of six for \$33.86 a week and provide anything more interesting than beans, cheap vegetables, bread and old roosters. I feed my husband, myself, our four children and a dog for that amount with very little difficulty. We find some of the cheaper foods quite edible. We rather enjoy a big, thick, juicy, charcoal-broiled hamburger, or maybe Mexican tacos or meatballs stroganoff. Also, a \$2 bottle of sherry will jazz up an awful lot of cheap meat. What I was most interested to learn is that, as a college professor's family, we are living on a welfare budget. My sympathy for the impoverished diminishes rapidly."

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

- There are currently 23—count 'em, 23—different bills in Congress aimed at putting a stop to campus disorders, one way or another. Meanwhile, at least five congressional committees are conducting, or planning to conduct, hearings on student disorders. Someday soon Congress might even vote on something. The most important current hearings are those continuing in Rep. Edith Green's (D.-Ore.) special subcommittee on education, and the most discussed legislation would hold out the threat of termination of federal aid to schools which failed to act quickly in putting down student disruptions; other bills would strengthen current laws prohibiting interstate travel to incite a riot.
- Three different congressional committees are now holding hearings pertaining to the upcoming 1970 census, with the direction of each being toward ways and means to limit the invasion-of-privacy dangers of the census questionnaires. Of the two bills under discussion, one (HR 20) would limit mandatory census questions to such rudimentary information as name, address, age and sex, while another (S 1791) would protect citizens who refuse to answer census questions. Some census reform appears inevitable.
- The Senate has passed and sent to the House a bill (S 1242) authorizing the appropriation of \$20 million in fiscal 1970 for the controversial Public Broadcasting Corporation. The PBC uses its federal financing for, among other things, producing programs for educational television. The Nixon Administration, in trying to cut down on government expenditures, has recommended a \$10-million authorization; the PBC dole may yet end up close to this figure, either through House action or when the actual appropriation is voted on.
- President Nixon has asked Congress for three-part legislation to help tighten controls over the sending of pornographic materials through the mail. Nixon proposed prohibiting the sending of pornographic material to anyone under 18 years of age, barring the mailing of sex-oriented advertising, and extending citizens' protection against unsolicited "smut advertising." This last provision would allow individuals to notify postal authorities that they did not want to receive pornographic advertising; mailers of this material would be given the names and be prohibited from sending them such material.
- For the first time in history the House has attached a ceiling on government spending to an appropriations bill, limiting the Administration to expenditures of \$192.9 billion in fiscal 1970 in passing a supplemental appropriations bill for fiscal 1969. Nixon advisers agreed to the House move in hopes that it would improve the legislative chances of other Administration proposals, such as tax reform; the spending ceiling matches exactly Nixon's revised budget for fiscal 1970.
- The House has dealt the Administration at least a tactical setback in refusing to vote on the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile program until the Senate acts first; Nixon operatives had been hoping that the more pro-ABM House membership would approve the controversial defense system and provide momentum for a Senate victory. It now appears that, if the House continues to wait, the Senate will not act until mid-June.
- President Nixon's proposals for reforming the Selective Service program will soon be written into bill form and subjected to committee hearings. Nixon's plan would reverse the present order of draft induction to select the youngest (19-year-olds) potential draftees first, and provide for their selection by a random lottery. Also, Nixon would reduce the period of eligibility from the present seven-and-a-half years to one year and would permit college students an automatic deferment until they graduate.
- Senate liberals claim to be picking up support, including some within the business community, for their campaign to liberalize U.S. trade with Communist nations. The liberalization is in the form of a bill (S 1940) which would greatly ease restrictions on what cannot be traded with Red nations, excluding only goods that are positively "capable of a significant military application which would prove detrimental to the national security and welfare" of the U.S. Hearings on the bill, introduced by Sen. Edward Muskie (D.-Maine), have now been completed by the Senate Banking and Currency Subcommittee on International Finance. Key to the bill's fate on the Senate floor will be the Nixon Administration's as yet unannounced position on Red trade.
- One of organized labor's pet legislative projects for the 91st Congress, passage of a common situs picketing bill, is now the subject of hearings before the House special subcommittee on labor, guided by labor chum Rep. Frank Thompson (D.-N.J.). The bill (HR 100) would permit a union in dispute with a subcontractor on a construction job to picket the whole project, an action both the National Labor Relations Board and the Supreme Court have declared an illegal secondary boycott in violation of the Taft-Hartley Act. The Administration appears ready to capitulate on this controversial issue, in return for Big Labor support on Nixon programs.

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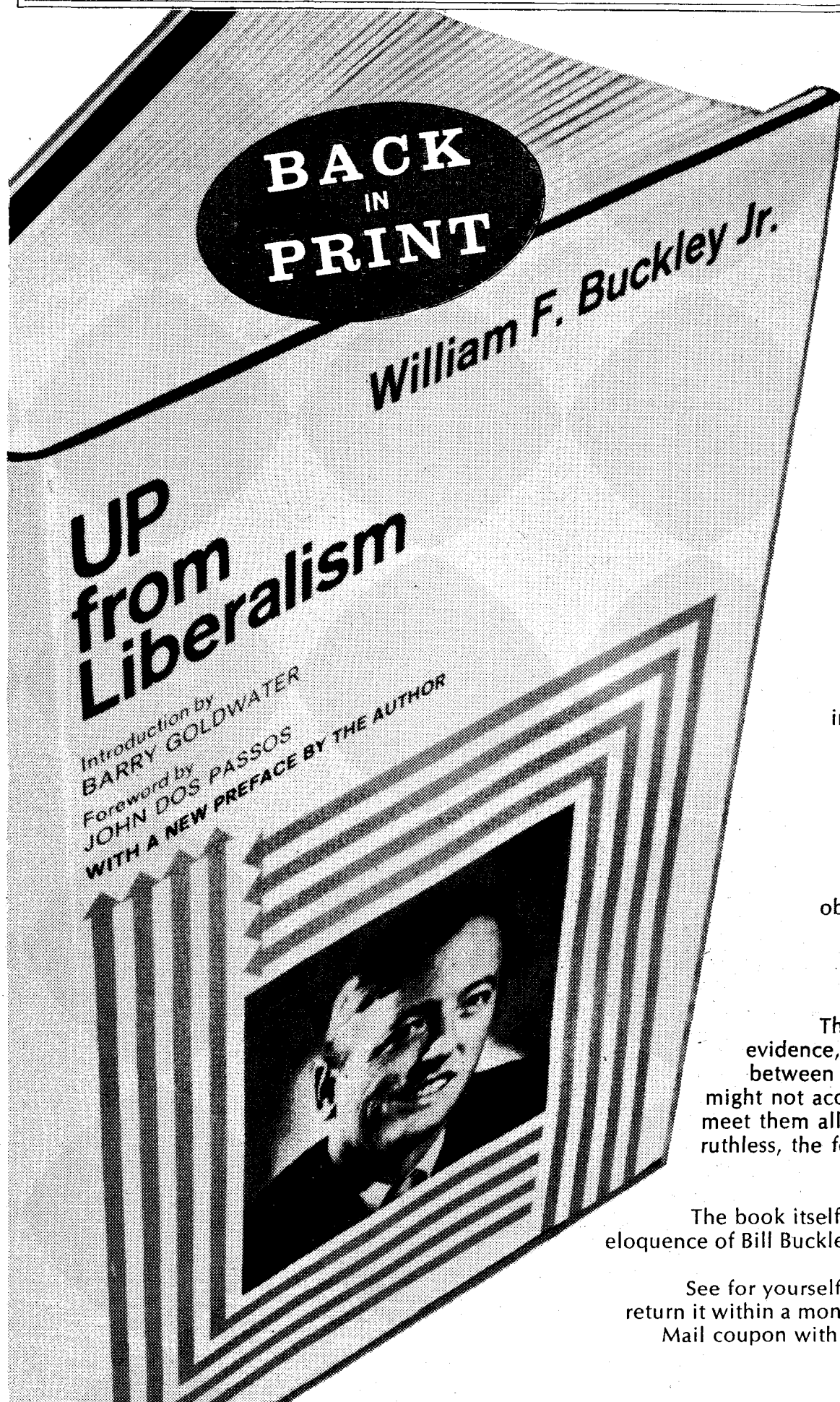
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